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SHABBAT	BEGINS	ENDS
Jerusalem	6:32 p.m.	7:46 p.m.
Tel Aviv	6:50 p.m.	7:48 p.m.
Haifa	6:43 p.m.	7:48 p.m.

THE JERUSALEM POST

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Lavi supporters making last bid to save project

By AVI TEMKIN
Post Economic Reporter

The Lavi supporters, headed by Prime Minister Shamir, were yesterday engaged in a last-ditch effort to save the project. Intensive talks involved most of the central figures in the cabinet. While a majority of ministers seems to support the initiative of Vice Premier Peres to scrap the project, it is not clear whether a vote will be held on Sunday, as originally planned. Shamir is to decide only today whether the final showdown on the Lavi will be at next week's meeting.

Once Peres dropped all mention of the "Lavi for the year 2000 project," he and Defence Minister Rabin have been cooperating fully and enjoy the support of Finance Minister Moshe Nissim. Shamir and Peres have returned to their more customary roles of opponents within the cabinet.

On the other side of the fence, supporters of the Lavi are lining up behind the plan drafted by Minister without Portfolio Yitzhak Moda'i. Shamir firmly supports this plan, which calls for the enlargement of the budget by about \$120 million a year and continuation of the jetfighter project. With support for the Lavi coming mainly from Herut ministers, it was clear that the Lavi was Moda'i's credential as a fully fledged member of the Likud's leadership.

Peres and Rabin's plan is based on halting the development of the Lavi, transferring \$100 million a year from American military aid to Israel Aircraft Industries — a sum that would finance research and development of

alternative projects and prevent large-scale dismissals. In addition, the U.S. will be asked to allow Israel's participation in the development of advanced aircraft technologies connected with the next generation of F-16 jetfighters. If the Lavi is scrapped, Israel will purchase F-16s.

But sources close to the prime minister pointed an accusing finger at Peres, saying his plan was nothing more than a cover for the fact that he now supports scrapping of the project, whereas only two weeks ago he had argued that it be continued.

Shamir, Moda'i and Minister without Portfolio Moshe Arens were involved in a determined bid to erode support for the Peres-Rabin plan. Shamir met with Finance Minister Nissim, but failed to convince him to budge from his opposition to the Lavi. IAI chairman Mordechai Hod, who also met Nissim, was no more successful. Meanwhile a group of professors from the country's universities met with Shamir in a fruitless attempt to make the premier change his mind.

While Shamir was meeting Nissim, Moda'i tried his luck with Rabin, but again to no avail. Today, it will be Arens's turn to try to get Religious Affairs Minister Zevulun Hammer to shift his backing from the Peres-Rabin proposals to the Moda'i-Shamir scheme.

Peres himself was also busy trying to get more Likud ministers to vote for his plan. He discussed by phone the details of his scheme with Minister without Portfolio Yigael Hurvitz and Labour Minister Moshe Katsav.

(Continued on Page 15)

Police brace for Shabbat

By ANDY COURT and HERB KEINON

Police are preparing for a weekend presenting innumerable possibilities for conflict in Jerusalem as ultra-Orthodox residents plan to congregate at 15 major intersections throughout the city to denounce Shabbat desecration with their rallying cry of "shabbos, shabbos."

The ongoing conflict over the screening of Shabbat movies in the capital seemed to be expanding both geographically and politically yesterday.

The police's main task a few weeks ago was simply to separate secular and religious protesters at the Beit Agnon cinema, but police now face ultra-Orthodox rallies in 14 additional locations where secular people normally drive through on Shabbat.

Meanwhile, an anonymous caller told *The Jerusalem Post* last night that secular activists would cut the *crav* or string that encompasses Jerusalem and makes it possible for observant Jews to carry objects outside of their homes on Shabbat.

"We're doing this to make it difficult for them during their protests," the caller said. "They won't be able to carry things. We're cutting the *crav* in three places, and they won't be able to find it before Shabbat."

While the cinema issue was the object of heated argument from the start, it has now become a *cause celebre* which may prompt Shas and the National Religious Party to break from Mayor Teddy Kollek's One Jerusalem coalition. The dispute has already prompted ultra-Orthodox neighbourhood leaders to threaten that their residents will not pay city taxes if the city by-laws are not strictly enforced. And while the issue once involved only city officials, yesterday it received attention from High Court judges and President Herzog.

In posters appearing throughout Mea She'arim and other ultra-Orthodox neighbourhoods last night, the highest religious court called for residents to assemble at 15 major intersections throughout the city on Saturday at 5 p.m.

"Come out and cry, 'Shabbat! Shabbat!'" the posters say. "The shouts will be heard at the same time, and the shouting will rise up to heaven."

The posters bear the seal of the chief rabbi of the ultra-Orthodox Eida Hareidit high court. In fine print, on the bottom of the poster, the rabbis warn adults to keep an eye on younger children, to make sure that they do not throw things or otherwise disturb the peace.

Leaders of Neighbourhood and Tent movements, whose constituents are residents of low-income neighbourhoods throughout the city, called off plans for a

(Continued on Back Page)



President Chaim Herzog with Agudat Yisrael leaders at Beit Hanassi yesterday. (Dan Landau)

Rabin: Peres plan causes 'minimal harm' to IAI

By JOSHUA BRILLIANT
Post Defence Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Defence Minister Rabin said yesterday that the proposal he had worked out with Foreign Minister Peres and Finance Minister Nissim, halting the entire Lavi programme, would cause only minimal damage to Israel Aircraft Industries.

In a strongly worded address to the Organization of Contractors and Builders here, the defence minister said he was not talking about a Lavi 2000 or about presenting IAI with the goal of developing an advanced aircraft.

Israel had suffered considerable damage with the much cheaper and simpler Kfir programme as the Air Force does not have the money to fly nearly half of those planes, he maintained.

Rabin lashed out at critics who claimed that killing the Lavi project would spell IAI's doom.

This claim has been one of IAI's main arguments, but Rabin noted that cancellation of the programme

would cost IAI only 10 per cent of its production and would necessitate only a gradual dismissal of 3,000 to 4,000 of its 20,000 employees. "Can you call this a liquidation?" he asked.

The minister said that, according to IAI's figures, producing 90 Lavis by 1997 should cost \$4.8b, in addition to what has been spent so far. Rabin said there was no guarantee that this would be the bottom line.

Israel had ordered the Lavi's wings from Grumman, to be made of composite materials, but after they were supplied for the prototypes, it transpired they were no good and different wings had to be ordered. That cost the defence establishment more than \$50m., Rabin told one of the organization's members.

The alternative is to buy 70 to 75 F-16s for \$2b. to \$2.2b. Such a deal would earn IAI orders from General Dynamics to the tune of more than \$400m. and secure U.S. aid to cover the cost of ending the project, as well

(Continued on Page 15)

Arab driver hurt in Egged blast

By JONATHAN KARP
For The Jerusalem Post

TEL AVIV. — A Palestinian bus driver was seriously injured yesterday when a bomb exploded in a bus in an Egged parking lot here yesterday. Two other bombs were found in near-by buses.

After the two bombs were discovered, police ordered a bus-by-bus inspection throughout Tel Aviv, the police spokeswoman said.

The driver, a Gaza man, is in Ichilov Hospital with head and hand injuries. The bus was parked in Egged's lot near the southern railway station here, when the device blew up near the driver's seat where he was sitting.

Several other drivers and Egged workers were in the supervisor's office on the lot when the explosion occurred at around 10:45 a.m. "We ran outside and saw broken windows," said one of the workers. "We saw the injured man but we didn't get close to him. We immediately called the police and Magen David Adom."

Some of the drivers said that they did not know injured driver personally, but the parking lot workers identified him as an Egged driver who worked routes between Gaza, Ashkelon and Tel Aviv.

Police cordoned off the area. Shortly after noon another bomb was found in an adjacent bus.

Sappers placed it in a special, reinforced metal drum and transported it to a site in Holon and safely exploded it, the police said.

The third bomb was found next to a third parked bus and defused. The police said they arrested a number of Arab workers in the lot in connection with their investigation.

There have been several incidents in recent months of bombs being planted on buses, particularly those parked in company garages and parking lots. Egged spokesman Gideon Talmor said yesterday that an employee is always on duty at each of these sites to check security.

"They are not security officers such as those at the airport. They are just generally responsible for the whole area," Talmor said. "I don't think this is an issue which can be addressed by adding a 'security officer,'" he said, referring to the recent bomb incidents.

Talmor said that all Egged employees have explicit instructions not to touch any suspicious object they find and to contact the police immediately. According to Talmor, residents of the territories cannot become members of the cooperative and work as salaried employees.

2nd attack in fortnight Katyushas in Galilee

By DAVID RUDGE

Three Katyusha rockets fell in Galilee yesterday morning without causing any injuries or damage. It was the second rocket attack in the area in less than a fortnight.

According to army sources the 107 mm Katyushas were fired from outside the security zone in South Lebanon.

Settlers in the region heard the whistle of the incoming rockets at around 9 a.m. immediately followed by two explosions.

About 15 minutes later another rocket explosion was heard nearby. Nevertheless the resident said there was no panic and life in the region quickly returned to normal.

Several people saw the rockets explode from where they were sitting outside.

Another resident said the fact that they never knew when the next attack might occur was bound to create some tension. For the most part, however, the residents have learned to live with the occasional rocket firings, he said. The most serious problems confronting people were economic, he added.

This point was emphasized by

(Continued on Back Page)

Vanunu prepares for start of treason trial on Sunday

By MENACHEM SHALEV
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Mordechai Vanunu and his attorney Avigdor Feldman spent over six hours yesterday in final preparation for his trial, which is scheduled to open at the Jerusalem District Court on Sunday. (See page 5.)

District Court Vice President Eliahu Noam and Judges Zvi Tal and Shalom Brenner will preside over the trial, which will be held under unprecedented security precautions aimed at preventing any possible contact between Vanunu and journalists.

Feldman plans to ask the court at the outset that his client be treated like any other prisoner and that he not be subjected to the extraordinary security measures which reportedly include special "disguises" for Vanunu. A special covering of wood and cloth has recently been erected at the back entrance of the court to prevent photographers from taking Vanunu's picture. The measures may also include police sirens, which will be operated while Vanunu is outside the court, in order to prevent any communication with the public.

Feldman has submitted a request to the court that parts of the proceedings be open to the public. The trial will start with the presentation of the state's case by prosecutor Uzi Hasson, who will attempt to prove that Vanunu sold Dimona's nuclear secrets to *The Sunday Times* and thus damaged state security. The two main charges against Vanunu are treason and aggravated espionage, offences which carry a maximum sentence of life imprisonment.

The prosecution may decide, however, to open the proceedings with a "mini-trial" in which it will attempt to counter Feldman's argument that the confessions extracted from Vanunu after his arrival here last September are inadmissible because of the "special circumstances" of his arrival here.

His brother, Meir, on the other hand, said yesterday in a telephone conversation from London with an Itim reporter, that he "no longer believes in Israeli justice. Moti has no choice, he must believe in Israeli justice. The problem is not with the judges, but with the fact that, in Israel, security considerations override those of justice."

Iran ignores truce ultimatum; vows to fight Iraq 'to the finish'

NICOSIA (AP) — Iran vowed yesterday to go on fighting Iraq until "final victory," dismissing an Arab League ultimatum to accept a United Nations cease-fire call by September 20 or face a break in diplomatic relations by Arab countries, Teheran Radio reported.

Amid artillery and infantry clashes along the 1,180-kilometre battlefield, the state-run radio quoted a Foreign Ministry spokesman in Teheran as saying Iran will "not be diverted from achieving victory" in the war that goes into its eighth year next month.

A Teheran communique said Iranian artillery fire destroyed an Iraqi missile battery, a communications centre and gun emplacements in the mountainous northern front and pounded armoured columns in the central sector, Iran's official news agency said.

An Iraqi communique charged that Iranian artillery shelled the southern city of Basra and Qalaa al Dizeh in the north, causing civilian casualties.

Teheran Radio denounced Britain and France for sending warships to the Gulf to support U.S. naval intervention and warned both countries "they should prepare to answer for their devious policies."

Aquino safe after rebels attack palace

MANILA — At least three civilians were killed and dozens of people wounded when rebel troops attacked the presidential palace and other government buildings here in the early hours of this morning, eyewitnesses said.

But armed forces chief General Fidel Ramos said that the mutineers had been repulsed and that government forces were in control. Ramos said in a radio interview that President Corason Aquino was safe.

A journalist who was in the palace said that he saw the bodies of at least three civilians, including a journalist, who were killed after a firefight between the attackers and palace guards. A radio report said that some 30 civilians were hospitalized with gunfire wounds.

The rebels consisted of six truckloads of troops wearing red headbands and patches of an inverted Philippine flag on their chest, the radio station said. The station said the first clash occurred a few hundred meters from the presidential palace.

It said some soldiers had been wounded around the palace but did not indicate whether they were mutineers or troops loyal to the government.

Military sources said it appeared the incident was the most serious since January, when mutineers attempted to seize media and military facilities in the capital in what the government said was a bid to restore



President Corason Aquino in Manila earlier this year. (Reuter)

Moscow welcomes Bonn offer to scrap Pershings

MOSCOW. — The Soviet Union yesterday cautiously welcomed a West German offer to scrap its Pershing-1A missiles, but said President Reagan had failed to clarify the U.S. position on the subject in his foreign policy speech Wednesday, which it attacked as anti-Soviet. The Western allies responded enthusiastically to the West German offer.

Moscow regards the issue of the Bonn government's 72 missiles, tipped with U.S.-controlled nuclear warheads, as the main obstacle to an accord eliminating superpower medium- and short-range weapons worldwide.

Commenting on West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl's statement on Wednesday that the Pershings could go in the event of a superpower accord on Intermediate Nuclear Forces (INF), Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennady

Gerasimov told reporters: "Of course, after this statement by Chancellor Kohl, the situation has changed for the better."

But Gerasimov accused Reagan of pouring out "cold rain" that could prevent an arms accord despite the West German offer.

He also denied a BBC report that Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev was planning to travel to the United Nations in the last three days of September.

"This information has no grounds whatsoever," Gerasimov said.

Gerasimov said Reagan's foreign policy speech did not indicate whether the U.S. was willing to eliminate the warheads.

"Even now, it should be said we are primarily interested not in the steel, not in the missiles in the possession of West Germany, but

(Continued on Page 15)

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THE JERUSALEM POST

Transplant patient doing well

By JUDY SIEGEL
Post Science and Health Reporter

Doctors at Jerusalem's Hadassah-University Hospital were "pleased" yesterday with the progress of Ovdia Matzri, who underwent heart transplant surgery late Tuesday night.

The 51-year-old security officer at the Machteshim plant in Beersheba was fully conscious and able to speak in a low voice. His blood pressure was stable and his lungs functioned

well as doctors reduced his dosage of drugs.

Hospital officials said that his new heart, donated by the family of a young man who suffered irreversible brain damage, was progressively improving, but doctors could not yet say he was out of danger.

Matzri is the first Israeli to undergo a heart transplant here since Health Ministry permission was granted a year ago, and the third in Israel's history.

مكتبة القدس



The weather at major Swissair destinations

	27.8.87	MIN.	MAX.
AMSTERDAM	13	8	18
BRUSSELS	13	8	18
BIRMINGHAM	11	6	16
CHICAGO	14	7	21
COPENHAGEN	16	11	21
FRANKFURT	13	8	18
GENEVA	13	8	18
LONDON	13	8	18
MOSCOW	27	21	33
PARIS	13	8	18
ROME	13	8	18
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TORONTO	13	8	18
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THE WEATHER

	Yesterday's	Today's
Jerusalem	11-26	27
Golan	16-30	31
Nahariya	16-27	28
Safed	16-27	28
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Afula	20-33	34
Sharon	20-30	30
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Jericho	21-36	37
Gaza	22-29	29
Beer Sheva	20-32	33
Eilat	25-38	39

SOCIAL & PERSONAL

Ilias Maltezos, Consul-General of Greece, Dean of the Consular Corps in Jerusalem, and his wife Elisavet, heartily thank the Patriarch of Jerusalem Diodoros and the Brotherhood; Dr. Ahmed Muhtadi; Meg Dipsy; the Staff of Jerusalem Maternity Hospital; Tereza Khalil; Morris Draper; Dionysios Psiachas; Jack Khazmo; Henry Khoury of Olympic Airways; Hanna Siniora; the family of Daoud Tawil; David Landau of The Jerusalem Post; and all other dear friends, for their participation in our joy at the birth of our Jerusalemite son, Anastas-George.

TRAVEL WRITER — Sri Lanka will invite at least 10 travel writers from Britain, France and West Germany in a bid to promote tourism in the island following the ending of a four-year ethnic war, officials said Wednesday in Colombo.

HOME AND FOREIGN NEWS

Peres meets Arab backers of Jordan

By JOEL GREENBERG
Foreign Minister Peres met yesterday with prominent pro-Jordanians from the territories and urged them to persuade Israeli public opinion that the Palestinians want peace.

Peres said he "views positively" conditions set by King Hussein for PLO participation in peace talks: acceptance of UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, which imply recognition of Israel; renunciation of terror; and joining a combined Jordanian-Palestinian delegation.

Peres said he expected progress in the peace process following the upcoming meeting between U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz and Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze.

Among those attending yesterday's meeting at the Foreign Ministry were Nablus businessman Said Kan'an, the publisher of *An-Nahar*, Othman Hallaq, the paper's editor, Issam Anani, Jordanian MP Tahsin Faris, and a member of the Nablus area committee to promote Jordan's five-year development plan in the territories, Omar al-Masri.

Kan'an said that Peres told the Palestinians "Israeli public opinion is in dire need of some propaganda that the Arabs in general, and Palestinians in particular, are eager

for peace. You constantly have to tell the Israelis that you are for peace."

Kan'an said his group could send such a message by writing in the Israeli press, and by urging Jordanian officials and media to appeal to Israeli public opinion.

According to Israeli sources, Peres said there was a possibility of progress on the issue of Palestinian representation at peace talks. He said there were "serious and respected" Palestinians, whose names were known to the parties, who would renounce terror and could join talks as part of a joint delegation with Jordan.

In response to comments by the Palestinians, Peres said the planned Israeli water drilling project near Bethlehem would supply Arab areas before Jewish communities.

Peres said he supported the decision to establish a company in the territories which would coordinate exports to Europe. Under this arrangement, Israel would impose quality control. But deposed Gaza mayor Rashad Shawwa, contacted by phone by *The Jerusalem Post*, rejected the decision. He said Israeli quality control meant continuing interference in what should be direct exports. Shawwa himself is a major citrus grower.

Ras Burka massacre

Cairo court to hear compensation claims

By BENNY MORRIS
Post Diplomatic Correspondent

A special tribunal will convene in Cairo on September 15 to hear compensation suits from the families of the victims of the 1985 Ras Burka massacre, Egyptian Ambassador Mohammed Bassiouny said yesterday.

But former attorney-general Prof. Yitzhak Zamir, who is representing the families of the seven dead, said that he had heard nothing official about this, and "in any case, we find the idea of the tribunal unacceptable. Had we wanted to go to such a tribunal, we could have done so months ago."

Zamir said that the establishment of such an administrative-judicial tribunal is the regular Egyptian method of dealing with compensation claims. "But we do not regard the massacre as a simple 'internal' Egyptian affair, but as an international incident. The compensation claims arising from it should be handled on a government-to-government basis, not by such a tribunal. There are international precedents for such government-to-government compensation negotiations."

Zamir expressed surprise at the Egyptian announcement of the September 15 sitting of the tribunal. "Such tribunals are set up in response to a legal suit for compensation. We have submitted no such suit to Egypt. The announcement is a not-so-beautiful [public relations] exercise by the Egyptians, who know that the framework is unacceptable [to us]."

Zamir said that there are "con-

tinuous" Israeli-Egyptian contacts to solve the problem. Zamir was last in Cairo six weeks ago, and expected then to begin substantive negotiations on compensation with Egyptian officials. But he came away empty-handed. A few weeks later, during the visit to Israel of Egyptian Foreign Minister Esmat Abdel Meguid, the Egyptians promised that Cairo would respond to Israel's request for "government-to-government" talks "within ten days." No word has yet arrived from Egypt.

Bassiouny said that the "families or their representatives can now go to Cairo and [present their suits] to the tribunal." Bassiouny was unable to say whether there could be an appeal against the tribunal's decision.



Ultra-Orthodox yeshiva students patrol at a border settlement yesterday after completing basic training. The students, from Israel and abroad, belong to the "Jewish Peace Army" established seven years ago by Seren (res.) Meir Indor. "During the four months of the Yom Kippur War, I saw that we were hurting from a shortage of manpower," said Indor. "I started thinking about a way of using foreign volunteers to relieve this shortage." So far, 1,900 people have completed the programme, about 40 per cent of them non-Orthodox. They receive between two and four weeks of training from IDF soldiers on reserve duty and then undertake to do guard duty for at least 21 nights in border settlements. One Orthodox volunteer joined the IDF and is now an Air Force pilot living with his family on an air base. According to Indor, some of the ultra-Orthodox volunteers withdrew from the programme following threats from the heads of their yeshivas that they would not be welcomed back to their studies.

Egyptian envoy denies mistreatment

By BENNY MORRIS
Post Diplomatic Correspondent

Egyptian Ambassador Mohammed Bassiouny yesterday denied that he had recently been mistreated leaving the Gaza Strip at the IDF's Erez checkpoint or that he had written a complaint about this to the IDF.

Referring to reports published on Wednesday, Bassiouny said that the "whole thing is a misunderstanding," stemming from "things I said to IDF [chief liaison officer] Tat-Aluf Oren Shahor about how other

dipomats, Egyptians and others, had been dealt with."

Bassiouny denied that a soldier at the checkpoint had cursed him, as reported on Wednesday. Bassiouny said that his car had been stopped at the checkpoint, "as was normal, and I had a brief conversation with a soldier, who was not impolite."

Other diplomats, however, had been treated inappropriately, Bassiouny said, "by soldiers who, unlike policemen, don't recognize diplomatic plates and don't know how to behave with diplomats."

Petrol bombers jailed

TEL AVIV (Itim). — The Nablus military court yesterday sentenced two 15-year-old Palestinians to three-and-a-half years in jail for throwing petrol bombs and stones at Israeli vehicles. The court said the aunt of one of the youths recruited them into Fatah last year.

Party accounts held to be in good order

By MENACHEM SHALEV
Post Political Reporter

The State Comptroller gave the political parties good grades for bookkeeping yesterday, with the notable exception of Ezer Weizman's now-defunct Yahad Party, which has habitually refrained from presenting its accounts for review.

In a special report on the finances of parties represented in the Knesset, submitted to Knesset Speaker Shlomo Hillel yesterday, Comptroller Ya'acov Malz blasts the "grave phenomenon" of Yahad repeatedly ignoring the provisions of the 1973 Party Funding Law. Yahad failed to account for the NIS243,900 it received from the state's coffers during the fiscal year 1986/87 and for its expenses during the previous year as well, the comptroller notes. Its funding was blocked in August 1986 as a result of a previous negative report by former comptroller Yitzhak Tunik.

The parties received NIS89,370 per MK, giving a total of NIS10,700,190 for the past fiscal year. Their expenditures were

NIS12,007,556, with the difference covered by contributions.

The most "expensive" MK is Meir Kahane, who spent over three times the amount allocated to him. Next is MK Yitzhak Artzi of the Independent Liberal Party, who spent NIS211,334; he is followed at a distance by the National Religious Party, the Liberal Party, Tehiya and the Citizens Rights Movement. Ometz, Shas, Agudat Israel and Herut all spent less than the amount allocated to them by the Treasury.

The comptroller's report does not cover bank loans or the financing of such loans, so the parties' actual expenses could be much higher than reported.

The comptroller notes that the parties submitted affidavits to the effect that all their contributions came from individuals and not from companies, which are barred by law from donating funds. However, the comptroller notes that some of the individual contributions were of "very large sums" and recommends that the Knesset take action to limit the sum of individual contributions.

Three killed in accidents

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Three people were killed in road accidents yesterday, bringing this week's traffic death toll to eight. Three other people were seriously injured yesterday.

In yesterday's most macabre crash, a giant truck hit and flattened a private car near Geder. The car's three passengers, an 11-year-old and two adults, were seriously injured.

Another car hit a truck when it changed lanes unexpectedly near the Kabri intersection in the North. The car was completely crushed and its 40-year-old driver from Peki'in died. Near Afik, another man died when his car swerved into a ditch and went up in flames, and a man from Majd el-Karum died in the Western Galilee when the tractor he was driving overturned.

Rom Carmel men intensify action

By YA'ACOV FRIEDLER

HAIFA. — Workers at the Rom Carmel metal factory yesterday escalated their action to prevent the plant's owner, the Ordan company, from closing the money-losing plant. The strike began two weeks ago, after dismissal notices were sent.

While works committee head Massoud Elimelech started a

hunger-strike yesterday on the roof of the management's offices, several dozen workers went to Netanya, where they invaded the vacant office of Ordan general manager Michael Tamari.

The office was vacated after about six hours. The men said that they relented "after a short talk with the management."

ZIM Israel Navigation Co. Ltd.

mourns the death of

Dr. NAFTALI WYDRA

a man of vision and deeds
one of the founders of the Company
and a captain of Israeli shipping
and offers condolences to the family.

We deeply mourn the passing of our dear

Prof. NAFTALI WYDRA

Founder and Director of our Institute

and express sincere condolences to the bereaved family.

The funeral will take place on Friday, August 28, 1987 — 3 Elul 5747 — at 12 noon, at Kfar Samir Cemetery, Haifa.

Israel Shipping and Aviation Research Institute

With deep sorrow we mourn the passing of

Prof. Dr. NAFTALI WYDRA

devoted friend, co-founder and board member of our company from its inception.

We express deepest sympathy to the bereaved family.

The funeral will take place on Friday, August 28, 1987 — 3 Elul 5747 at 12 noon at the Kfar Samir cemetery, Haifa.

His memory will be cherished.

DAGON Batby-Mamguroth Le-Israel Ltd., Haifa

We mourn the untimely passing of
our dear friend

ALAN FLACKS

Elsheva Suz
Michael and Sigal Suz
Ruth and Boaz Barack

Junior Philharmonic
Orchestra

The unveiling of the tombstone of our beloved

HANNAH STONE BARGTEIL

will take place at the Eretz Hachayim Cemetery
on Thursday, September 10, 1987 at 9:30 a.m.

Bus transport from the Agron St. Supersol at 9 a.m.

The Family

The unveiling of the tombstone in memory of our beloved
wife, mother, grandmother and sister

SHANA WEINER

will be held on Sunday, August 30 at 6 p.m.
at the Har Hamenuhot (Har Tamir) cemetery, Jerusalem.

Dr. Myer H. Weiner — Brookline, Mass. and family
Aronowsky, Aranne and Muskin families

On the fourth anniversary of the death of our dear

Seren DAN FREDMAN

who fell in the line of duty, there will be a graveside memorial service
on Monday, August 31, 1987 (6 Elul 5747) at 5:30 p.m., in the Haifa
Military Cemetery.

The Family

We lost our beloved mother

FELA PASSAL

on August 21, 1987

and
her dearest sister, our aunt, in Paris

JANKA (Dorner) BIALOZORSKA

We miss them terribly

Daniela Passal, 02-410079
Julian and Ziona Passal
Victor Frostig

Shaare Zedek Medical Center, Jerusalem
and its American Committee
mourn the passing of

ALAN FLACKS

a great friend and devoted supporter.

It is with great sorrow that we announce
the passing of our dearest

MAX SPITZ

The funeral will take place on Sunday,
August 30, 1987,
at 10 a.m. in Hadarom Cemetery, Holon.
We shall meet at the new gate.

The Family

The Israeli Bowling Association
and the Israeli Women's Bowling Association
mourn the passing of

MAX SPITZ

honorary life president of the I.B.A.

We deeply mourn the passing of

MAX SPITZ

Our founder, our benefactor and "father" of our club.
Our heartfelt sympathy to Rae, Sandy and family.

He will always be remembered by
members of Ramat Gan Bowling Club.

We mourn the passing of

MAX SPITZ

Heartfelt sympathy to Rae, Sandy and family.

Norman and Mickey Spiro

Mine owners fire 20,000 black strikers

JOHANNESBURG (Reuters). — South Africa's white mine owners fired 20,000 black strikers yesterday but faced a dramatic challenge from militants who staged an underground sit-in at the world's deepest gold mine.

Anglo American, the mining giant worst hit by a huge wages strike, responded to miners' rejection Wednesday night of an improved pay package by carrying out threats to dismiss strikers at seven gold and coal mines.

An estimated quarter of a million miners, most of them from tribal homelands or neighbouring black states, have been on strike since the country's gold mines since the strike began more than two weeks ago.

The sackings were the toughest action yet from the mining houses, who earlier warned they were devoting all resources to restoring lost gold and coal production.

Miners at the number three shaft of Western Deep Levels, west of Johannesburg, said the underground sit-in started Wednesday night after mine security men firing tear-gas and rubber bullets herded them out of their hostels and forced them underground at gunpoint.

They told reporters the security

men pushed them through tunnels toward working places far underground at the 3.7-km-deep mine.

Anglo American, which denied the intimidation allegations, reported 3,000 strikers took part in the sit-in.

About 18 hours later, some of the militants said they were brought to the surface by Anglo American's private security force, handed severance pay and bused off mine property.

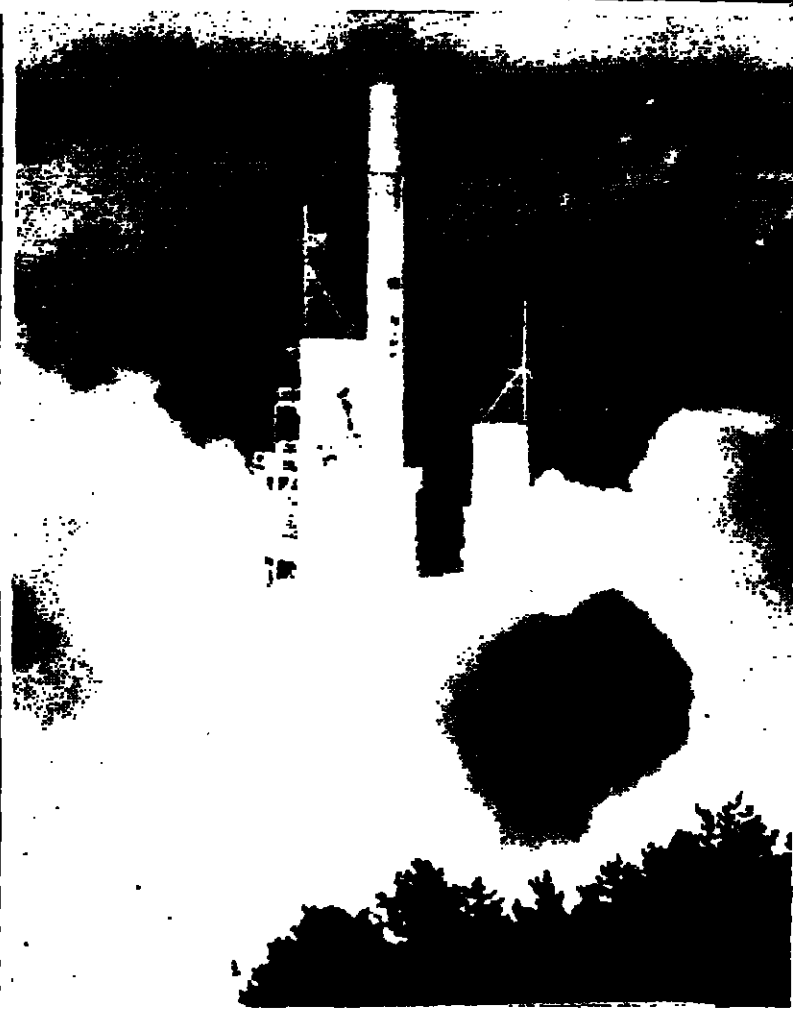
Anglo American said it fired 6,000 of the 7,500 black workforce at the shaft for continuing the strike.

A spokesman last night gave the following breakdown of other strikers dismissed by the company during the day: — 7,000 gold miners at two shafts at the Western Holdings gold mine in the Orange Free State province.

— 4,128 gold miners at two shafts at Vaal Reefs in the Western Transvaal.

— 2,900 coal miners at the Springfield and New Denmark pits south-east of Johannesburg.

Anglo American also issued a spate of ultimatums to another 22,500 strikers at six gold and coal mines to report to their jobs during the next 24 hours or be fired.



Japan's first three-stage H-1 rocket blasts off yesterday from the launching pad at the Tanegashima Space Centre, about 1,000 km. southwest of Tokyo. H-1 carries a 550-kilo satellite into geostationary orbit. This represents a major step towards independence from U.S. technology as the greater part of the rocket and the satellite is Japanese-made. (AFP)

Pakistan rioting kills 28

KARACHI (Reuters). — Fresh ethnic violence scarred Pakistan yesterday as a curfew was imposed on a second day and the death toll rose to 28 in two days of riots.

Officials said army troops were called in to enforce a curfew in Hyderabad, 175 km east of here, after rioting broke out between the Mohajir and Pashtun communities and six people were killed.

The clashes began Wednesday in Karachi where at least 18 people have been killed and more than 80 injured, doctors said.

Police said they had arrested more than 60 people in the riots in which about 125 shops and houses were set ablaze.

The riots flared Wednesday following a gunbattle between the two groups in Faissal colony area near Karachi airport. Authorities imposed a curfew and called in troops.

Pashtuns from the northwest frontier province and Mohajir immigrants from India at the time of the subcontinent's partition in 1947 have a 20-year history of rivalry in Karachi, Pakistan's biggest city of more than seven million people.

By DAVID HOROVITZ

Jerusalem Post Correspondent

LONDON. — The "strong indications" that the Archbishop of Canterbury's special envoy Terry Waite, who disappeared in Beirut seven months ago, is still alive, and is being held captive by a small Hizballah group in south Beirut, the BBC reported yesterday, quoting authoritative sources high in the Iranian administration.

According to the BBC's information, Iran wields considerable influence over the group holding Waite hostage, but it is disinclined to press hard for his release at the moment.

Iran sees Waite's captivity as a way of "teaching the West a lesson," the BBC's diplomatic correspondent reported from Teheran yesterday.

"There's a view that what's happened to Waite is rather like what they maintain has happened to the Palestinians under Israeli rule. He's not a free agent; he can't control his own destiny."

Iran might make more effort to secure his release if four Iranian diplomats held hostage by Christian groups in Lebanon are freed, the BBC was told.

Assurances were given, however, that Waite's life is not in danger. His links with the U.S. are regarded as misguided in Teheran, according to the report, but he is not seen as an American spy.

Although he is being kept mainly in south Beirut, Waite is being taken to the Bekaa Valley from time to time to insure that his hiding place is not discovered by Syrian forces in Lebanon, the BBC reported.

MOSCOW (AFP). — A U.S. fighter jet nearly collided with an Aeroflot airliner flying into New York's Kennedy Airport Sunday, Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov announced here yesterday, saying the incident "seems like a provocation."

The Soviet Union, he said, had protested to the U.S. and "demanded a full and detailed inquiry of the circumstances of this unprecedented incident which seems like a provocation."

The U.S. fighter missed the airliner by 50 to 100 metres, Gerasimov said, adding that Soviet experts were prepared to participate in the investigation of the incident.

The airport authorities had "verbally denied the reality of the facts," Gerasimov said. But passengers on the Aeroflot flight from Moscow had "witnessed this very dangerous maneuver."

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SHARONIT Granite and Marble (end of Rehov

By CHARLES HOFFMAN
The new rules adopted by the Jewish Agency for making grants to other institutions are intended to broaden the range of programmes supported and to make the allocation process itself more objective, according to agency secretary-general Howard Weisband.

The agency board of governors recently approved a set of guidelines by which programme proposals from "any reputable body in Jewish life" will be considered for funding, if they are conducted in Israel and "are consistent with the priorities and purposes" of the agency. The agency works in the fields of education and culture, immigrant absorption, settlement, vocational training, Israel-Diaspora relations and urban renewal.

Funding proposals are to be submitted to the secretary-general's

Agency adopts new rules for distributing grants

office, and will be reviewed by the budget and finance committee of the board of governors and by appropriate agency departments.

While most of the agency's \$420m. budget is spent on regular services through its departments, some \$9m. is allocated annually to a variety of institutions and programmes outside the agency. Of this, Weisband said, about \$3m. would be available for allocation under the new rules.

Criteria for determining priorities and the amounts to be allocated to each programme have not yet been

worked out.

Programmes that will not be funded under the new guidelines include those that are the legal responsibility of the government; those adequately offered by other institutions; those that are clearly the responsibility of the World Zionist Organization; building projects; and anti-Zionist activities.

The \$9m. in outside grants now made by the agency includes about \$2.7m. for institutions affiliated with political parties, including the non-Zionist Agudat Yisrael; \$3.2m. for

programmes of the Reform, Conservative and Orthodox movements; \$2m. for a wide variety of institutions and projects; and \$100,000 for worthy causes designated by the chairman of the agency. In addition, about \$1m. is allocated annually to immigrant associations.

Weisband said that the pressure to make the agency's granting process more open and objective came mainly from the fund-raising leaders on the board of governors over the past several years. The pressure exerted at the same time by the Reform and

Conservative movements to broaden access to agency funds also played an important role, he said.

The desire of the fund-raisers to move the agency beyond its traditional range of activities was expressed in a resolution passed at the agency assembly in June, which said that it should provide funding for "creative and innovative" programmes.

Weisband said that there was still much room for rationalizing agency allocations to institutions, since the criteria for deciding which should be given regular annual support and which should be funded only for a limited time are not clear in many cases. The agency has funding agreements with public bodies such as Yad Vashem and with politically affiliated organizations which have not been seriously reexamined in many years, he said.

Security problems 'a poor excuse'

Israeli plea to join European athletics

ROME (Reuter). — Israel yesterday made an impassioned plea to join the European group of the International Amateur Athletic Federation when delegate Avi Stein told the 36th IAAF congress that the present position was intolerable.

Israel is a member of the IAAF's Asian group but does not compete in international competitions in the region for security reasons.

Stein said security was a "poor and weak excuse" and added: "The real reason is the political and violent pressure in certain Asian countries against Israel."

"The problem of security is now a worldwide problem. Surrendering to the threat of violence is the best way to increase violence. We request the Israeli federation join the European competitions."

When several delegates shouted: "No!" during Stein's last remarks, he replied: "This is a good example."

IAAF general secretary John Holt said Israel was taking part in the World Championships starting here tomorrow, was a member of the IAAF and had taken part in the recent Student Games in Zagreb, Yugoslavia.

But he added: "Obviously this is a problem the IAAF council must consider."

Television Coverage

Israel Television is planning to broadcast extensive coverage of the Championships all through the week. Following is a list of the main events to be broadcast:

Saturday August 28 — 21.30 — Daily roundup including women's marathon and men's shot put.
Sunday August 29 — 17.30-20.00 — Live coverage, including women's high jump, and finals of 100 metres for both men and women. Daily roundup at 23.00.
Monday August 31 — 17.30-19.30 — Live coverage, including men's triple jump final, women's 400 and 800 metres final and women's discus final. Daily roundup at 23.00.
Tuesday September 1 — 17.30-19.30 — Live coverage, including men's 400 metres final and men's 800 metres final. Daily roundup at 23.00.
Wednesday September 2 — Rest Day.
Thursday September 3 — 17.30-20.30 — Live coverage, including men's 400 metre final, women's 110 and 400 metres final, men and women's 200 metres final.
Friday September 4 — 17.30 — 18.00 Live coverage. Daily roundup after Mabat newsworld.
Saturday September 5 — Expanded 75 minute roundup after evening news, including men's long jump and pole vault.
Sunday September 6 — 17.30 — 20.30 — Live coverage, including men's high jump final, men and women's 4x100 relay final, men's 4x400 relay and men's 1500 and 5000 metres.



Rick Wakeman with the Eton College Chapel Choir.

Keyboardist Wakeman's concept

KEYBOARDIST-composer Rick Wakeman's probably one of the rock world's most productive concept album creators, and it is his latest conceptual work, *The Gospels*, which we will be able to experience here in Israel, this coming Thursday (September 3), at the Caesarea Amphitheatre.

Thirty-eight-year-old Wakeman's musical career began at the age of five. As a teenager, Wakeman studied at the Royal College of Music in London, and in 1969, he started work as a session musician.

His earliest sessions included work with The Strawbs, whom he joined as a member the following year, and for a young man called David Jones, later to become David Bowie. In 1971, Wakeman left The Strawbs to join the fast-rising British group Yes and soon acquired world acclaim.

Wakeman was with Yes for two periods. The first, which lasted until 1974, bore the albums *Fragile*, *Close to the Edge*, *Yessongs* and *Tales From Topographic Oceans*. Wakeman's first solo album, *The Six Wives of Henry VIII*, was an instant suc-

cess. Wakeman began experimenting with music, and for his next project, *Journey to the Centre of the Earth*, he assembled the London Symphony Orchestra, conductor David Measham, The English Chamber Choir, a rock group, two vocalists, a film projectionist and a narrative read by David Hemmings. The resulting album became a No. 1 hit.

Wakeman's following album, *The Myths and Legends of King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table*, was a similar production and it too went to the top of the charts.

In 1975, Wakeman composed the score for Ken Russell's not-so-successful film *Polixmania*, starring Who vocalist Roger Daltrey. Unlike the film, the album was a success. Another solo album, *No Earthly Connection* and the score for *White Rock* were released the same year.

Back with Yes in 1977, Wakeman recorded *Going for the One* with the group and his own *Criminal Record*. The following year saw Yes's *Tormato* and 1979, Wakeman's double album *Rhapsodies*. The Eighties have been no less

eventful for Wakeman. With his own releases *Rock and Roll Prophet*, *Silent Nights* and *Live at Hammersmith* plus various soundtracks for films such as *The Burning*, *Cost of Light* and the more recent *Crimes of Passion*.

THE GOSPELS is Rick Wakeman's latest project, and includes a recording, several small-scale performances which took place in May, and the exclusive presentation at Caesarea. The work consists of four arias, each containing four parts. Appropriately named "Matthew," "Mark," "Luke" and "John," the arias tell the gospels according to each of the apostles.

The music, although classically oriented, utilizes electronic musical instruments, mostly played by Wakeman himself. Vocals are by the celebrated tenor Ramon Remedios, accompanied by the Eton College Chapel Choir. The complete performance is narrated by actor Robert Powell, one of the screen's portrayals of Jesus. The Caesarea performance will also feature the Haifa Symphony Orchestra.

Whitehall will reject Moscow request for Gecas extradition

By DAVID HOROVITZ and MENACHEM SHALEV

LONDON. — Britain is to reject an official Soviet request for the extradition of Antanas Gecas, the 71-year-old Edinburgh boarding house keeper alleged to have murdered hundreds of Jews in Lithuania during World War II.

The official Soviet request was made in Moscow on Monday in a note passed by a Soviet Foreign Ministry official to Britain's charge d'affaires. Whitehall sources told *The Jerusalem Post* on Tuesday that the Home Secretary had ruled out the possibility of extraditing alleged Soviet war criminals to the Soviet Union to stand trial.

In Jerusalem, Efraim Zuroff, head of the local branch of the Simon Wiesenthal Centre, said yesterday that the basis for a possible Israeli request for Gecas's extradition had been strengthened following a Soviet statement this week that they would consider permitting witnesses against Gecas to travel to the West to testify. The statement was made by a Soviet prosecutor in an interview with Scottish Television this week, Zuroff said.

Justice Ministry officials have

been examining the Gecas file, which was submitted by the Wiesenthal Centre last month. Officially, the ministry has yet to decide whether to request Gecas's extradition, but officials have hitherto maintained that without Soviet permission for eyewitnesses to come here to testify, there was no possibility of convicting Gecas.

The Justice Ministry is not expected to announce its evaluation of the reported Soviet agreement to allow eyewitnesses to testify, before Minister Avraham Shari' returns from his current trip abroad.

Gecas, who has admitted to serving in the infamous 12th Lithuanian Police Battalion between 1941-44, is currently under British Home Office investigation. A Home Office spokesman said that Gecas's British citizenship application was being checked and that officials were plowing through hundreds of pages of evidence against Gecas, supplied by the Wiesenthal Centre and other sources.

Zuroff said yesterday that the Soviet request proves that the Wiesenthal dossier against Gecas was "serious and solid."

Shipping industry pioneer Naftali Wydra, at 78

HAIFA. — The funeral of Dr. Naftali Wydra, one of the captains of the Israeli shipping industry, will be held at noon today at the Kfar Samir cemetery. Wydra died on Wednesday at age 78.

Born in Leipzig, he was educated at German universities and earned a doctorate in economics and jurisprudence. He immigrated to this country in 1933 and opened a shipping and customs clearing agency.

In 1936 he took over the Jewish Agency's maritime division and was instrumental in developing fisheries, training Jewish seamen and introducing Jewish workers in the ports.

In 1947 he organized and managed the Zim shipping company and served as its general manager until 1966. Under his leadership, Zim

grew from a one passenger-ship company to an international concern, operating 150 vessels of all types, 70 of them its own. In the early 1960s Wydra founded and organized the Black Star Shipping Line for Ghana and the Five Star Line for Burma.

From 1969 to 1981 Wydra was chairman of the Ports Authority. He then founded the Israel Shipping and Aviation Research Institute, which he managed until his death. He was an associate professor of economics at Haifa University and a member of its board of governors, as well as that of the Technion. He was also a founding member of the board of the Dagon silo.

Wydra leaves a wife, a son, a daughter and two grandchildren.

The name is Spinoza's but the numbers are Balfour's

BY YA'ACOV FRIEDLER

Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA. — Spinoza's got the name, but Lord Balfour has the numbers, of a steep but pretty hill road in this city.

Comprising just over 200 steps, Baruch Spinoza Stairs is a direct continuation of Rehov Balfour in the Hadar district, going in a straight line up Mount Carmel to the Rothschild Hospital.

The 17th century philosopher, had he lived to see his street with Balfour's numbers, might well have concluded that the municipality was following his tenet of universal interdependence.

The Spinoza Stairs used to be part of Rehov Balfour and were renamed some 25 years ago, according to veteran resident Zvia Ben-Horin.

"But we never adjusted to the change and kept our old Balfour Street numbers," she said. Her address, for instance, is 42 Balfour Street, corner of Hess Street (named, of course, after Moshe, the writer and early dreamer of Zion in

the last century).


Today there is only one house with a Spinoza Stairs number. It was built after the road was renamed.

So you can walk past 32 Balfour Street, which is followed by 4 Spinoza Stairs, and then back to 34 Balfour Street and all the way up to number 50 Balfour, where the road ends.

Ben-Horin holds that it will be impossible to make the residents change their numbers, and in any case Spinoza "deserves a bigger and busier street. Let City Hall transfer him and let Balfour be Balfour."

Questioned on the matter, municipal spokesman Yossi Bar said yesterday that he was not aware of the mix up. The municipality would now look into it and also into the possibility of moving Spinoza elsewhere.

Meanwhile, the man who is hailed by many as the greatest modern philosopher shares his street with Arthur James Balfour, author of the declaration that promised the Jews a national home.



EMUNAH — National Religious Women's Movement

The text of an urgent telegram, sent by Emunah to Mr. Teddy Kollek, is given below:

DEAR MR. TEDDY KOLLEK, SHOCKED AND PAINED, WE, THE WOMEN OF EMUNAH, APPEAL TO YOU IN THE NAME OF TENS OF THOUSANDS OF NATIONAL RELIGIOUS WOMEN AND MOTHERS IN ISRAEL, VETERANS AND NEW IMMIGRANTS, FROM ALL WALKS OF LIFE AND ALL PARTS OF THE DIASPORA.

STOP THE BLATANT DESTRUCTION OF THE SABBATH IN THE STREETS OF JERUSALEM, OUR HOLY CITY. DO THIS WHILE YOU STILL HAVE CONTROL OF THE SITUATION, AND WHILE IT IS STILL POSSIBLE TO QUENCH THE FLAMES OF HATRED, BEFORE THEY UPSET THE DELICATE BALANCE WHICH MAKES THE LIFE AND EXISTENCE OF JERUSALEM POSSIBLE.

LEND YOUR SUPPORT TO THE CO-EXISTENCE OF ALL PARTS OF THE J. J. OF ISRAEL IN THE HOLY CITY.

ISRAEL DIRECTORATE OF EMUNAH

Nudel: Low aliya due to poor radio information

By LEA LEVAVI

The poor presentation of information about the absorption of Soviet immigrants in Israel on Israel Radio broadcasts to the USSR is part of the reason there isn't more aliya from the Soviet Union, Ida Nudel told World Wizo president Raya Jaglom in a telephone conversation this week.

Jaglom, who is also chairman of Israeli Women for Ida Nudel (Iwin), called Nudel from Geneva and spoke to her for 45 minutes.

Nudel complained that reception of Israel Radio in the USSR is not always good, and that the broadcasts don't present information about

absorption in the right way.

Immigrants who have been in the country for 10 years or more should be interviewed and asked to explain how they established themselves in Israel, she said, and more information should be provided about opportunities for professionals. "The only available information is Soviet disinformation, which everyone knows is false and which is the same story they've been telling for the last 20 years," Nudel said.

She mentioned several times that she knew no state secrets, and that the insistence of Soviet authorities that she did was "like a children's game."

Supreme Court raps Prison Service

The Supreme Court this week criticized Prison Service authorities for placing minors guilty of security offences in the same prisons as adult security offenders, thus exposing them to people who would teach them how to commit security crimes.

The court made the criticism in its ruling to reduce the sentence of a minor who had been imprisoned with older security offenders.

"It is both amazing and worrying that it is a state authority that is helping to expose minors guilty of security offences, severe as they may be, to perhaps one-time offences, to indoctrination in the school of adult security offenders. The outcome is not hard to imagine," the court said. (16m)

Rookie stops Molitor

MILWAUKEE (AP). — Paul Molitor was one batter away from getting one more shot at extending his hitting streak on Wednesday night.

But Molitor's streak ended at 39 straight games when teammate Rick Manning hit a pinch RBI single in the 10th inning to lift Milwaukee over Cleveland 1-0. Molitor was scheduled to be the next batter.

After Manning won the game, there was silence at County Stadium except for a few boos of disappointment.

"I went up to Rick, and he said 'Sorry,' and I said 'Sorry? You won the game,'" Molitor said.

Molitor needed one hit to equal Ty Cobb for the fourth longest modern major-league hitting streak. Cobb hit in 40 straight in 1911 for Detroit.

Molitor failed to get the ball out of the infield against Cleveland rookie John Farrell, who allowed only three hits through nine innings in his second major-league start.

Molitor struck out in the first inning, grounded into a 6-4-3 double play in the third and grounded out to shortstop in the sixth. He reached base in the eighth on an error by first baseman Pat Tabler.

With two outs in the eighth and a runner on second, Molitor hit a slow grounder that third baseman Brock Jacoby charged and threw to Tabler. First base umpire Mike Reilly originally called Molitor out, but ruled him safe when Tabler bobbled the ball. Jacoby's throw beat Molitor to the bag by about two steps. Robin Yount then popped up to Tabler to end the inning.

"It's been an emotional night for me, being called out at the end of the game and seeing my family in the stands. It reminds me of what I've been through. It's been humbling and I'm glad for the opportunity. In a lot of ways it's disappointing," Molitor said.

AMERICAN LEAGUE EAST

	W	L	Pct.	GB
Detroit	75	51	.595	—
Toronto	75	51	.595	1 1/2
New York	71	55	.563	4 1/2
Baltimore	68	58	.540	7 1/2
Boston	61	65	.484	14 1/2
Baltimore	57	69	.452	18 1/2
Cleveland	48	79	.378	28

WESTERN DIVISION

	W	L	Pct.	GB
Minnesota	67	62	.519	—
Oakland	65	64	.506	1 1/2
California	63	66	.488	3
Kansas City	62	64	.492	3 1/2
Texas	60	66	.476	5 1/2
Seattle	59	67	.466	6 1/2
Chicago	53	73	.421	12 1/2

WEDNESDAY'S RESULTS: Chicago 5, Boston 3; Minnesota 10, Detroit 8; Kansas City 3, Texas 6; Milwaukee 1, Cleveland 0, 10 innings.

NATIONAL LEAGUE EAST

	W	L	Pct.	GB
St. Louis	75	51	.595	—
New York	71	56	.559	4 1/2
Montreal	69	58	.532	6 1/2
Philadelphia	58	69	.450	17 1/2
Chicago	62	62	.500	12
Pittsburgh	56	71	.441	19 1/2

WESTERN DIVISION

	W	L	Pct.	GB
San Francisco	68	60	.531	—
Houston	65	62	.512	2 1/2
Cincinnati	63	65	.492	5
Atlanta	55	69	.444	11
Los Angeles	56	68	.450	10 1/2
San Diego	52	74	.413	15

WEDNESDAY'S GAMES: New York 3, Los Angeles 2; San Francisco 2, Philadelphia 0; Pittsburgh 6, Cincinnati 5; St. Louis 5, Houston 4; Montreal 6, San Diego 5, 12 innings; Atlanta at Chicago, doubleheader postponed due to rain.

Gilad crashes out

Post Sports Staff and Agencies

Gilad Bloom, who knocked out the top seed in the first round of the \$125,000 Rye Open, put up a brief struggle before falling to unseeded American Marc Flur in the second round on Wednesday 7-6, 6-0.

Bloom then teamed up with Flur shortly afterwards in the doubles, but they fell to an American pair in straight sets.

In the Jericho, N.Y., tournament, Peter Lundgren of Sweden, playing the best tennis of his career, upset second-seeded Andrei Chesnokov of the Soviet Union 6-3, 7-6. Lundgren won with a sharp serve-and-volley game that effectively countered Chesnokov's groundstroke style.

In another second round upset, seeded Javier Sanchez of Spain beat sixth-seeded American Dan Goldie 7-5, 3-6, 7-5.

Steffi Graf of West Germany, newly perched as world No. 1 and two-time defending champion Ivan Lendl of Czechoslovakia were named the top seeds for the U.S. Open beginning Sunday.

Graf also days ago replaced second-seeded Martina Navratilova as first ranked and won eight tournaments, including the French Open, this year. It is her first-ever top seed at a Grand Slam event.

Six-time U.S. Open champion Chris Evert was seeded third, her first time out of the top two in six years. Fourth was Hana Mandlikova of Czechoslovakia, the 1985 U.S. Open champion.

Lendl, the men's world best, was seeded first for the second consecutive year. He has been a finalist at the national tennis centre, just an hour's drive from his home in Greenwich, Conn., for the past five years. "It is almost like his home away," said Boris Becker of West Germany, the fourth seed.

Lendl, who this year won the French Open for the third time and was Wimbledon runner-up for the second consecutive time, is followed by Sweden's Stefan Edberg and Mats Wilander.

170 due at Horshim triathlon

By JACK LEON

TEL AVIV. — Israel's triathlon season is now in full swing, with a meet in the three-discipline event of swimming, cycling and running taking place tomorrow at Kibbutz Horshim. Marking the end of the year will be a \$10,000 international event in Eliat. Six specially-invited men and women stars from Europe — all of them national champions of their respective countries — have already signed up for "Isrotri" Eliat race in November, the Israel Triathlon Association's chairman Uzi Ron said yesterday.

The event at Horshim, near Rosh

Ha'ayin, will be the third triathlon this year, following meets in the Jezreel Valley (with 20 overseas entries among the 130 participants) and Kibbutz Ein Hamifratz. The season continues with the Emeq Hefer Triathlon on September 12.

About 170 competitors are expected for the annual Horshim meet, said event director Uri Leshem. The meet was inaugurated in 1985. The course — a short one by triathlon standards — completes a 9-km run, 30-km cycle and a 25km swim. The event gets under way at 7.30 a.m., to beat the heat.

Top triathlon performer Micha Kagan, 23, of Kibbutz Shinar, is defending his 1986 Horshim title, after earlier this month finishing 26th out of 360 starters at an international event in Munich.

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The U.S. media think the Israel-Arab struggle is dull, and are focusing on internal problems here

WHEN ISRAEL'S Prime Ministers' Club imposed its short-lived boycott of NBC last month, the network's top brass immediately dispatched a senior executive to work things out with the Israelis. But some observers could not help wondering whether, if they had decided to boycott not just NBC but all three U.S. networks, the American viewing public would have noticed.

From the Six Day War until the withdrawal from Lebanon in 1985, probably no foreign country - apart from the USSR - commanded as much attention in the U.S. media as did Israel, in the context of the Mideast conflict. Recently, this has not been so.

The overall fascination with Israel continues. But except for a spate of stories relating, as did the NBC's offending programme, to the 20th anniversary of the Six Day War, coverage of the Jewish state has basically shifted from the confrontation between Israel and the Arabs to Israeli confrontation with itself over domestic issues.

American coverage of Israel depends on a media outlet's bureau in Israel and the diplomatic correspondents in Washington, who cover American foreign policy issues, including the Persian Gulf, Central America, East-West relations, and the Middle East.

For the Washington-based correspondents, the first three issues are red hot. The Middle East definitely is not. They are quite open about the lack of political coverage of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

ANNE GARRELS, a diplomatic correspondent for NBC, was candid.

"How would I try to get a piece on the Arab-Israeli conflict on the air? There is nothing to say. I can hear the people upstairs at the Evening News headquarters already saying, 'It must be a dull day if that is the story today.'"

Garrels, a former Moscow-based correspondent, added, "Half the Washington diplomatic press corps grew up with the Kissinger diplomacy, and spent a great amount of time at the King David Hotel in Jerusalem. We are comfortable with the story, but there is a lull."

Barry Schweid, a veteran diplomatic correspondent for the Associated Press, summed up the inability of these correspondents to "get into" the Arab-Israeli story.

"We reporters, by definition, are interested in

issues that the State Department is concerned with. This administration has chosen basically to leave a solution of the festering conflict to the parties themselves. Reporters covering the State Department turn to other issues where the State Department is actively engaged."

Charles Krauthammer, who won the coveted Pulitzer Prize this year for his weekly *Washington Post* columns, and is also a commentator for the *New Republic* magazine, defined three criteria for American coverage of the Middle East conflict.

First, news is a function of crisis, given the reactive nature of the media. Second, the scope of American involvement. "Lives of American sailors are at stake in the Persian Gulf as were the marines in Lebanon," he said.

The third yardstick, Krauthammer suggests, is sensation, and in the Middle East context, sensation is terrorism. "This is the only remaining story of any interest," he said. "Yet it is covered one day and forgotten the next. Terrorism has no lasting consequences."

YOSSI GAL, the spokesman for the Israel Embassy in Washington, said: "The novelty of terrorism has worn off. Who can compare the attention given to terrorism today in the U.S. to when the famed CBS anchorman Walter Cronkite used to end his broadcast by counting the days Americans had been held in the U.S. Embassy in Teheran."

He added, "The Iran-Contra affair has also pointed the danger of playing up the hostage story until it becomes too central in U.S. foreign policy. The West is learning to live with terrorism."

The diminishing interest in the Arab-Israeli conflict has led some to ask if the Middle East issue is becoming "Kashmirized." Kashmir has been a long-simmering border dispute between India and Pakistan, with Western attention being drawn to the area only when actual fighting occurs.

Michael Getler, foreign news editor of the *Washington Post*, strongly disagrees that the Middle East conflict has diminished in importance.

"The focus of attention in Washington is from crisis to crisis. The Mideast is with us for a long time to come. You will see it come back on the screen."

There seems to be an agreement that a U.S. diplomatic initiative would bring the Middle East peace process into sharp media focus and return it to the headlines. But Gal says that, short of a major crisis like Lebanon, it will not return to the heyday of Camp David or the Reagan Plan.

"The older Israel gets," he reflected, "the less 'first' there are. There already was Sadat. When then prime minister Peres went to Morocco, it made a lot of news in Israel, but not so much here. "If Charles Hill, Secretary of State Shultz's trusted aide, had been going to Israel on a trip a few years ago, my phone would have been off the hook with questions. Now, it drew little attention here."

David Makovsky

WHETHER THERE IS a decline of interest or just a temporary lull, American media coverage of events inside Israel has increased. This is not just the fascination with Israel, but is connected with major scandals that have rocked Israel and, in a couple of instances, profoundly strained U.S.-Israel relations. Pollard, Shin Bet, Irangate, Nafsu are recent examples. Israel's economic crisis in Israel and the Lavi are not remote concerns because, among other reasons, American foreign aid is involved.

To quote John Weisman, a Washington media analyst, "When the U.S. foreign aid means the equivalent of \$750 for every Israeli family, the news media are going to want to know where the money is going."

Beyond the U.S. security and financial interest in Israel, American journalists freely admit that there still is a general fascination with Israel on a variety of matters.

To illustrate the extent of the interest, it is known that 350 news organizations around the world have permanent representatives in Israel. During 1986, an additional 1,000 reporters, including many from small American papers and television stations, visited Israel on special assignment - a year of no war or peace conference.

THOMAS FRIEDMAN, the *New York Times* correspondent in Jerusalem, wrote a thoughtful essay six months ago examining the foundations for this interest.

"The attraction is caused by a number of interrelated factors, which editors are reacting to, not creating," he wrote.

"Part of the focus derives from the West looking in - a fascination fed by the biblical tradition, the role of the Jew in the Christian world, guilt over the Holocaust, and yes, probably also some traditional anti-Semitism."

"And part of the focus derives from Israel's projecting itself outward - seeking to satisfy a deep longing to be accepted and a need to prove its worthiness to those upon whom it is most dependent. Israel is obsessed with the way it is perceived and portrayed by the outside world as the outside world is fascinated by it."

Friedman assessed the enigma of analyzing Israel, saying, "Few countries embody more surprises and contradict more presuppositions than Israel. Through Israel, the historical Jew is transformed from the powerless to the powerful, from underdog to hero, from victim to victimizer, from ghetto dweller to nation builder, from the eternal minority to a majority, from the ultimate cosmopolitan to the ultranationalist."

"It was the Jews through the Bible, who helped to shape many of the moral values of Christianity, and the Christian world is now fascinated to watch how the Jews, who historically enjoyed the moral strength of the weak, now wrestle with the moral vulnerabilities of the powerful."

"For some people," he added, "there is some-

thing almost satisfying about catching the Jewish state behaving improperly. It is a bit like catching one's Sunday School teacher in an indiscretion."

Charles Krauthammer jests about *The New York Times* coverage of Israel. "For *The Times*, Israel is a local news story." Few doubt that the high Jewish readership of *The Times* translates into increased news from Israel.

Krauthammer is a bit more cynical when it comes to the media outside New York. "For many other papers, there is an ideological reason to advance support for the unstated proposition that Israel's dream has failed."

Win Meiselman, who heads a media watch group in the U.S. called Camera - Committee for Accuracy in Mideast Reporting - suggests that there is often a double standard in journalism.

"There is a continuing spate of stories that are played up on the front pages where their news value doesn't actually merit it," Meiselman remarked, adding that massacres in Iraq and other Arab states do not receive comparable attention to West Bank disturbances.

U.S. COVERAGE is not foisted upon Israel. Israel seeks it out for a mixture of reasons. First, it relates to a yearning of the country to be accepted in the world at the same time that some Israelis are angry and fearful that world public opinion has turned against them. When U.S. public opinion is involved, the concern is focused more on the wide base of American public support that makes generous foreign aid - a normally unpopular budget item - able to breeze through Congress.

Apart from the feeling that "Jews are news," journalists interviewed freely said the investment in overseas bureaux means that a steady diet of news about Israel is expected.

Sometimes, when things are quiet, said Getler, "you want less cosmic, and more marginal stories that are able to explore the society."

Americans are probably more informed about the internal dynamics and schisms within Israel than they were in the past, while its external conditions and peace prospects get less attention, primarily due to the fact that no major policy initiatives have been attempted by the U.S. or decided upon by the Israeli cabinet. More than anything else, news of Israel is a reflection of Israel's own current inward turn.

Vanunu's defence

Menachem Shalev

WHOEVER DECIDED that Mordechai Vanunu should be brought back to Israel to stand trial here must be - or should be - having second thoughts on the matter. If Avigdor Feldman, Vanunu's attorney, has his way with the trial, there should be no shortage of embarrassments for the spokesmen of the state to try to overcome.

The success of Feldman's strategy hinges on the trial's being open to the public, at least partially. Feldman's request to that effect will be one of the first things to be considered by the Jerusalem District Court when the trial opens on Sunday.

The defence of one of the most renowned prisoners in the country's history is being formulated in a decrepit basement apartment in Tel Aviv, which houses the local branch of the Association for Civil Rights in Israel. Feldman, 38, formerly head of the association's legal assistance programme, has established himself as a champion of civil rights causes in the courts, in many cases by representing Arabs who feel they have been wronged.

He finds in Supreme Court Justice Gabriel Bach's recently partially published decision to refuse a habeas corpus petition to the defence a sign that the State's attitude to the secrecy enveloping Vanunu may be changing.

"Until now," he said in an interview this week, "the State believed, for some reason, that even the most minute detail about Vanunu - including the contours of his face - should be kept hidden."

The evidence released by Bach deals with what is euphemistically termed "the circumstances under which Vanunu was brought to Israel," Feldman plans to base his

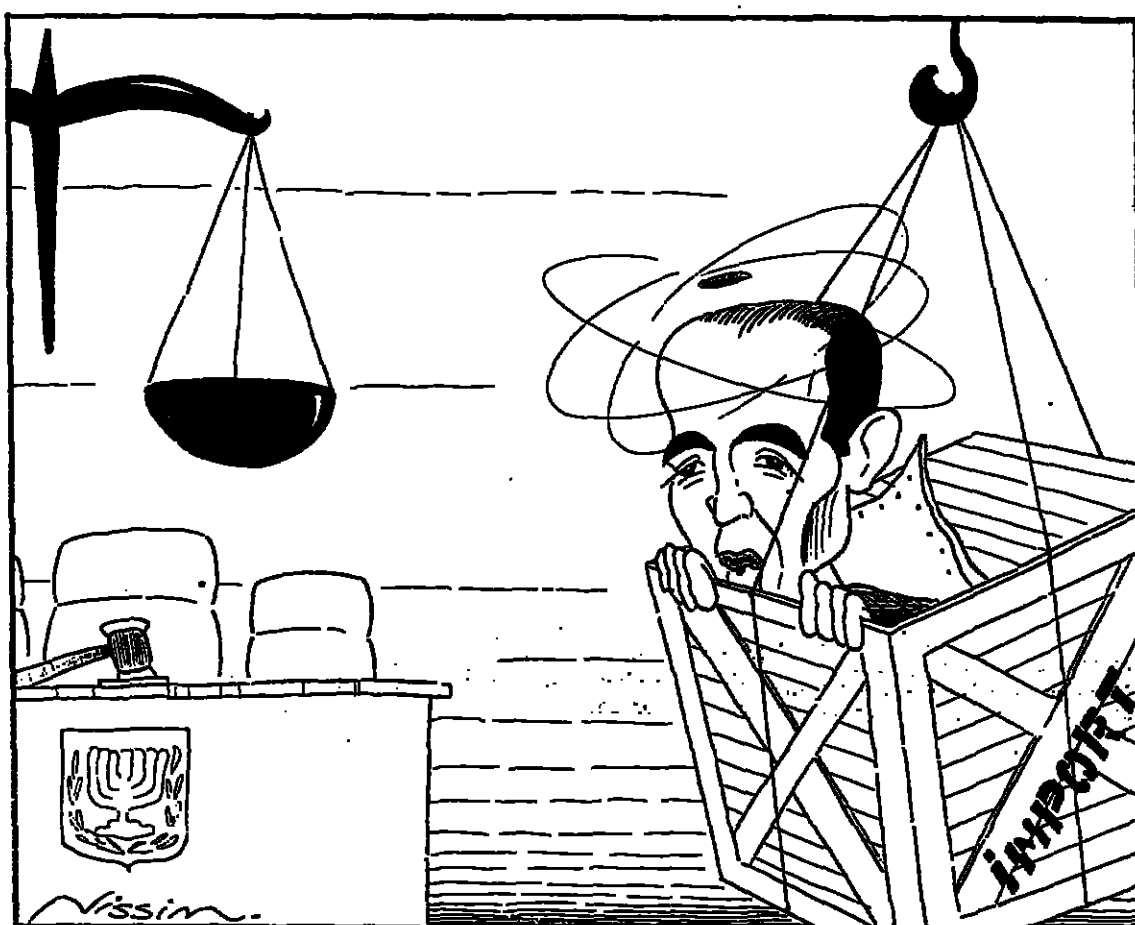
opening shots in the trial on this evidence. He will contend that "something happened" between the time Vanunu was in London, allegedly revealing Israel's nuclear secrets to *The Sunday Times*, and his arrival in Israel, which negates the court's jurisdiction in the case and also nullifies the confessions extracted from Vanunu here.

IN HIS PRELIMINARY arguments, Feldman will refer to a precedent which, from a public relations point of view, he would not doubt rather avoid: the Eichmann trial. Eichmann's judges rejected his claim that they lacked jurisdiction because the Nazi war criminal was brought to trial illegally, following his abduction from Argentina.

"Although Eichmann's claim was rejected by the court," Feldman says, "the truth is that both the District and the Supreme Courts were not clear-cut on the substance of the claim. They based their rejection on the fact that the injured country, Argentina, had waived its claims after Israel apologized." In Vanunu's case, Feldman says, the State is not claiming that there is an injured state which has waived its rights or reached some sort of agreement with Israel.

But there are two points which differentiate Vanunu's claim from Eichmann's, "on top of the obvious differences," Feldman says. First, Eichmann was accused of "crimes against humanity" and his standing was similar to that of a pirate.

Vanunu, on the other hand, is accused of what Feldman terms "purely political crimes," and the laws of extradition explicitly exclude political crimes. "The only state in which we know that Vanunu stayed is Britain," Feldman says, "and the State knows that an extradition re-



quest would have been rejected out of hand by British authorities."

Secondly, Feldman says, since Eichmann's trial there has been a fundamental change with regard to human rights in international law. Hitherto, human rights were considered to be a matter between individual states and their inhabitants. Today, the protection of human rights has become a part of customary international law, which is considered to be part and parcel of the law of each state.

"The Universal Declaration of Human Rights has been incorporated in our legal system," Feldman says, "and it forbids arbitrary arrest, protecting the individual from such acts as forced transfer and abduction."

"Suppose you were sitting at home and agents came to your house and abducted you, and then after 10 days they show up in court and ask for a legal arrest warrant. I find it hard to imagine that a judge would issue the warrant in these circumstances. You can't take someone illegally and then expect that your actions will be sanctioned retroactively by a duly issued warrant."

"The decision in the Eichmann case was based in the main on the legal situation in the United States at the time, when a court pulled down a curtain on anything that happened before a trial and said it did not care how the accused was brought before it. But this has changed. In 1974, a drug smuggler named Toscanini, who had been sentenced to a long prison term for smuggling many kilos of heroin was released by the Federal Court of Appeals because he had been abducted from South America by American narcotics agents and brought dragged to the U.S. to stand trial."

FINALLY, Feldman's preliminary arguments - what he terms "the first round" - will cite the recently enacted Protection of Privacy Law, which forbids the admission of evidence obtained through a violation of privacy.

"If evidence thus obtained is barred, all the more so when the accused himself is brought to the court illegally," he says. "What is really amazing is that while the State told Bach that it brought Vanunu here in the manner it did, the prisoner him-

self is not allowed to tell the court about it."

Feldman admits that an open trial will work both for and against his client. For example, he says, the defence will not claim that Vanunu was subjected to any physical pressure before making his confessions.

AFTER THE prosecution succeeds in surmounting Feldman's legal hurdles, it will have to prove that the accused damaged the State's security (in order to convict him of treason) - and that he intended to cause such damage (in order to convict him of espionage).

Here Feldman will refer to another unsavoury precedent - the Nuremberg trials. He will claim that the secrecy imposed on Vanunu at Dimona was a manifestly illegal order which Vanunu, by law, must disobey. Feldman terms this line of

defence, "our extreme position," which he doubts the court will accept. He hopes, however, to prove that this was Vanunu's frame of mind and thus to negate the contention that he had intended to damage state security.

"The principle laid down at Nuremberg was that not only are you obliged to refuse to carry out an illegal order: you must do everything within your power to get the system in which you are situated back on the legal track, or at least to make its illegal actions known to the world," Feldman says.

Assuming that what *The Sunday Times* deduced from Vanunu's revelations is accurate, Feldman will contend that nuclear weapons are, by their very nature, illegal.

"Nuclear weapons have all the characteristics of an outlawed weapon," he says. "They do not differentiate between civilian populations and other targets. The damage they cause far exceeds any political objective that might be achieved, and they cause irreversible damage to the climate and the environment."

The court may dismiss this claim outright, Feldman says, pointing out that the most democratic of countries possess a nuclear arsenal. He will then counter that these countries - excluding France, which nonetheless openly acknowledges that it has nuclear weapons and subjects them to rigorous control - are party to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty which Israel has steadfastly refused to sign.

The legal world has been pondering the legality of nuclear weapons, says Feldman, and its position now is that nuclear weapons which are meant for a first strike are definitely illegal. The legal status of nuclear bombs intended to have a deterrent effect, however, is unclear.

Feldman hopes to attack other sacred cows, such as the much-used - and to his mind much abused - concept of "state security."

In a democracy, he asks, "is state security the exclusive province of politicians and generals? There must be some sort of equilibrium between state security and the citizen's right to know. We are told that the citizen participates in the decision-making

process when he votes. But how can he vote if he does not know?"

"Is the Likud for or against nuclear weapons?"

In fact, the supporters and opponents of nuclear weapons do not split in accordance with the classic lines dividing left and right. He gives as an example the argument that if Israel possessed nuclear weapons, it could allow itself to forgo the strategic assets of the administered territories.

"And who makes the decisions? In America, we all know of the little suitcase the president carries around, and only he can decide to use nuclear weapons."

"Who can contemplate the chain reaction if a country decides to employ nuclear weapons?" he asks.

"The Arab countries are all signatories to the nuclear non-proliferation treaty, which mandates that the parties to the treaty who possess nuclear weapons provide a nuclear umbrella to a threatened country. Take an imaginary scenario where Israel threatens Syria with nuclear attack. Who can guarantee that the Soviet Union won't cite its obligations under the provisions of the treaty?"

Feldman plans to bring to Israel several renowned professors to testify on his client's behalf. He hopes to show that Vanunu's ideas were not far-fetched and are shared by top-ranking experts in international relations and political science. "As in other things, Vanunu personalized these ideas," Israeli academics were less forthcoming, Feldman says. "After all, the State claims that it has enough evidence to prove that he is a traitor."

Although Vanunu acquired his opinion through the "left" and was active in the anti-Lebanon war movement, Yesh G'vul, Feldman, who was also active in the movement, is "less than happy" that his client has been "adopted" by all sorts of inherently anti-Israeli bodies.

The trial will revolve around the dilemma of nuclear weapons, he hopes. To strike a blow against them, the judges must first accept his plea for an open hearing. If they do, "someone in a very high place might regret his decision to bring Mordechai Vanunu to justice."

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Mohammed Awad decided not to move his family into an Arad quarter when his prospective neighbours told him 'Arabs can't live here.' However, he found an apartment elsewhere in the town. Elaine Ruth Fletcher tells the story.

PERSONA NON-GRATA

"SOMETHING like this could happen in Arad?" exclaimed Shaya Unger.

The plump matron of the Arad coffee shop, "Ougit," wrinkled her face in surprise as her former neighbour, Mohammed Awad, described how a group of tenants had organized to block him from moving into a new apartment just down the street — threatening to burn him out just as Arabs were chased from the Ramat Gan neighbourhood of Ramat Amidar.

"Because you're an Arab?" she asked disbelievingly.

He nodded.

"And in our block the children played together so nicely," recalled Unger. "It was wonderful. It didn't make a difference. Ya'allah... I'm astonished."

After a week of uncertainty, the Awad family finally abandoned their plans to rent an apartment at 52 Rehov Ben Yair, and moved to another Arad address last Tuesday.

It's not that he was afraid, said the 30-year-old Awad, head of the quality control laboratory at Telma's Shefa food processing plant in the city.

"Personally, I could deal with them. But I have three little children and I don't want them in that environment. They're people who lack education — very low class people."

The encounter with discrimination came as something of a shock to Awad, who has successfully juggled life in both Jewish and Arab worlds since the age of 16, when he enrolled in Haifa's eminent Reali High School, because his village school did not offer a science curriculum.

In the years since, he'd had only

one memorable racist encounter — as the victim of a high school classmate's remarks during the tense period of the Yom Kippur War.

"I'd heard of people having problems finding apartments," said Awad. "But it never happened to me."

"I lived for many years in Beersheva," added the graduate of Ben Gurion University of the Negev. "I integrated into the society. One child was born in Beersheva, and my children go to school with Jews."

TO JEWS, Awad might seem to be a model of the modern Arab-Israeli, moving between two cultures as easily as he switches from Arabic to flawless Hebrew.

Moslem holidays are celebrated with family in Awad's home village of Tamra, near Shfaram. But Awad and his wife, whom he met at university, have long socialized in Arad and Beersheva with Jewish friends.

As a parent, Awad has struggled with the fine points of raising children who belong to two cultures.

"My four year old once wanted to know why we eat pita on Pessah when everyone else from nursery school is eating Matzot," he recalled.

"The children see Yitzhak Shamir on television, and they ask me if Shamir is one of us. I tell them he's prime minister of all of us Israelis. But he is not Arab, he's Jewish."

"Then they hear Mubarak speaking Arabic on the television. Is he one of us? I tell them yes, he is Arab. But he is Egypt's prime minister."

At the Shefa plant, Awad was popular enough to be elected secret-

ary of the works committee in a factory which is 80 per cent Jewish.

"In contract negotiations, I myself am looking out for the good of many Jews. I'm for cooperation. Jewish-Arab coexistence. We've been destined to live together," he said.

When Awad moved to Arad last year from Beersheva to be closer to his job, he rented the house he owned in Beersheva — to a Jewish family — and signed a lease on 42 Rehov Ben Yair in Arad.

"For the last year I saw only good things from the neighbours," he said.

HIS CHILDREN liked the neighbourhood so much that when Awad's landlord decided to move back into his apartment, Awad and his wife found a new rental nearby at 52 Ben Yair.

"The children didn't want to leave their friends," he said.

That was in early August.

"The day we had agreed to sign a lease with the landlord, he wasn't at home, he hadn't contacted me. I didn't know what was going on," related Awad.

"A day later, I finally got a hold of him, and he told me: 'Listen, I don't want to hurt you, but since the neighbours learned that an Arab is moving into the apartment, they have opposed it and have been making threats.'"

"I said: 'Look, if there's really a problem with the neighbours, invite them to your house or to mine. I'm ready to sit with them over a cup of coffee and explain to them that the Satan isn't really so bad. I don't have horns.'"

So, the landlord put up a sign in the apartment building inviting his neighbours to meet the Awad family the next day at 6:30 p.m.

"At 6:15 p.m. we got a phone call, saying, 'Don't come. None of the neighbours want to meet you,'" said Awad.

"I said, my wife and I will come anyway."

When the Awads arrived at the apartment building, they saw several men and a woman lounging outside the door.

"When they heard my wife and I speaking in Arabic, they edged toward me and said, 'Are you and your wife planning to move into the Safir family's apartment?'"

"I said, 'Yes. But I understand that we're getting a rather warm welcome.'"

"They didn't answer immediately. But they followed us up in the elevator, and said: 'We understood that you're not moving in. The contract was cancelled.'"

"I said, 'Who told you that? The contract hasn't been cancelled.'"

"They didn't answer."

"Then, as we sat down in the Safir's apartment, and began talking, these people started knocking on the door, demanding to speak to the landlord."

"They said, 'Listen, we won't let you sign a lease with them. We don't want Arabs to live here. If they move in the same thing will happen here that happened in Ramat Amidar' — meaning the burning of the apartments of the Arabs that lived there."

"They didn't want to enter the apartment. They only spoke from outside."



Mohammed Awad, outside Telma's Shefa food processing plant, where he is head of the quality control laboratory and secretary of the works committee. (Media)

"They yelled, 'Arabs can't live here. We don't want to see you here. If you do live here there will be terror. It'll be like it was in Ramat Amidar.'"

"I said, 'Hevra, I don't think I want to move in here anymore, but at least come in and talk like human beings.' They said, 'We don't want to talk with you.'"

"I saw there was no reason to keep talking to them. It's not worth talking to such people..."

"I don't want to be the neighbour of such low-class people, I don't want to live with them."

"It's not that I'm throwing up my hands. They're doing something that's against the law. But I have little children — and they could hurt the children."

AWAD'S children are happy with the apartment the family moved into last Tuesday — even if it's not quite in the same neighbourhood.

"They don't really understand yet about racism. But the new apartment is near the swimming pool."

Awad, meanwhile, found out how many friends he had in Arad.

"Many Jewish friends called. One even offered us an apartment — free — for a year. They offered help."

"At work I felt an outpouring of sympathy. There, they accept me as a person. They voted for me as secretary of the works committee. Now they tease me about being a 'media star.'"

"I'm optimistic. I can say that there is good and there is bad. You have to look at both sides of the coin."

Still, Awad worries that the racist expressions of a few neighbours are more than just isolated incidents.

"I'm afraid it is starting to become legitimate — it's legitimate to be racist. It didn't even bother them when I called them racist — although

they didn't like being called low class."

"The Kahanism has left its negative mark in all sorts of ways — and this is one of them. A law against racism hasn't deterred people from talking in harmful ways about Arabs."

"Unfortunately, it's not just among low class people, it's also among high class people, like Michael Dekel, and Gandhi (Aluf res. Rehavam Ze'evi), who are talking about 'transfer' of Arabs."

"If people at the top talk in a racist spirit, it's no surprise that people at the bottom will follow them."

So far, all has been quiet at Awad's new apartment. The neighbours have said *shalom* in the hallway — and no more.

But that, says Awad, is the way neighbourly relations are supposed to start, normally, with no fanfare. And so he hopes the *shalom* is a good omen.

Cloak-and-dagger in Jewish law

COMPLICATED HALACHIC problems, hitherto unheard of, have arisen with the activities of the secret services. Agents of the secret services in their various missions in Israel and abroad may have had to assume a non-Jewish identity, in order to obtain access to high governmental and military sources and to win the trust of the local community.

This created a serious halachic problem, even when the purpose was to save one's life or the lives of others. The Shulhan Aruch, Yoreh De'ah, 157.2, states: "It is forbidden to say that one is not Jewish in order that they should not kill him. But if, in order that he should not be recognized as a Jew, he changes his clothing during a persecution, it is permitted, since he does not explicitly state that he is not Jewish."

Rabbi Moshe Isserles (known as Rama), in his glosses on the Shulhan Aruch, comments: "Although it is forbidden to say that one is a gentile,

Shlomo Goren

one may nonetheless employ language that has dual meaning. The gentile will understand him as declaring that he is one of them, while the Jew himself will intend something entirely different. Likewise, if he can cause them to err and think that he is a gentile, it is permitted."

Rama then adds: "All this is only permitted in a situation of danger."

Here, then, is an explicit law forbidding a Jew to state directly that he is not Jewish, even to save his life. A century earlier, Rabbi Yosef Chaviva wrote that should the gentiles decree that all Jews are to be executed because they do not worship their god, one is forbidden to proclaim that he is not a Jew.

In the same vein, Tur Yoreh De'ah, 157, records: "It is forbidden for a Jew to declare that he is a gentile in order to escape death, for

upon stating that he is a gentile, he is acknowledging their religion and is denying a fundamental article of faith."

Similarly, the "Rosh" (Rabbi Asher) wrote in his compendium to tractate Avoda Zara, II, 12, on the words of the Jerusalem Talmud that permit a woman to hide herself and say that she is a gentile: "One should not deduce from here that it is permissible for a Jew to declare that he is a gentile to prevent his being killed. By so doing he would certainly be denying a fundamental article of faith, since they want to kill him if he does not convert and become an idol-worshiper like them. Certainly when he says that he is a gentile he has admitted to their religion and accepted their god upon himself."

Upon what basis, then, could the men of the secret services have been permitted to assume false identities and pose as gentiles?

Is it possible to maintain secret services according to the Halacha?

THIS IS NOT the only problem connected with the running of secret services. To plant an agent in the target country and enable him to penetrate the political hierarchy, his daily life must be completely natural, and must arouse no suspicions. In a Moslem country, the agent must live a normal family life. Is it permissible for him to marry an Arab woman in order to provide a proper cover for his new identity?

If we want our counter-espionage agents to penetrate terrorist organizations and reveal their plans and intrigues, we must enable them to live normal lives as Arabs and Moslems. However, there is a biblical injunction against cohabiting with a gentile woman, as Maimonides noted at the beginning of the 12th chapter of his Hilchot Issurei Biah, citing Deut. 7:3: "You shall not marry them." Is the prohibition of cohabiting with a Gentile woman overridden by the danger to state security?

According to Rabbeinu Tam, the rule in tractate Ketubot 3b to "suffer death and do not transgress" does not apply to illicit sexual intercourse between a Jew and a gentile woman, or between a Jewess and a gentile. It would be possible, he maintains, in cases of essential security, to invoke the halachic principle that saving endangered lives overrides all biblical prohibitions, except for three sins:



Eli Cohen, who lived a double life in Syria before being exposed as an Israel agent.

idolatry, illicit sexual intercourse, and murder.

Even according to the early Geonim who disagree with Rabbeinu Tam and hold that the cohabitation of a gentile with a married Jewess constitutes incest, do not say that this is the case with a Jew who has sexual relations with a gentile woman in private, without the intention of matrimony. And although the court of the Hasmonians decreed that this is strictly forbidden (Avoda Zara, 36b) and in spite of the severity of the prohibition (cf. Maimonides, Hilchot Issurei Biah, XII, 1, 6), it is not in the same category as incest.

DESPITE all that has been written so far, proof that the security of Israel overrides the prohibition of fornication with a gentile can be found in tractate Nazir 23b: "Rav Nachman Bar Yitzhak said that a transgression performed with good intentions is better than a precept performed with an ulterior motive, as it is written: 'Blessed above women shall be Yael the wife of Hever the Kenite. Above women in the tent shall she be blessed' (Judges 5:24). 'Women in the tent' refers to Sarah, Rivka, Rachel and Leah. Rabbi Yochanan said that Sisera had sevenfold intercourse with Yael, as it is written: 'At her feet he sank, he fell, he lay, at her feet he sank, he fell, where he sank there he fell down dead' " (ibid., 27).

Yael did this in order to weaken

Sisera and to be able to kill him, as Rashi explains. The Tosafot in Sanhedrin 64b deal with Yael's right to do this, considering the sin involved. They point out that Yael was not raped, for Sisera was escaping and had neither time nor energy to rape her; on the contrary, he needed her to hide him from his pursuers. Yet she seduced him with her wiles until he had sexual relations with her that totally exhausted him. And Scripture praises her: "Be blessed among women Yael the wife of Hever the Kenite." The implication is that Israel's security overrides the prohibition of illicit intercourse.

From this we may deduce that the security of the nation is not comparable to the security of the individual. When there is a vital need of planting a Jew in enemy territory and in order to change his identity he requires a fictitious marriage with a gentile woman, one may rely upon the precedent of Yael, who is defined by the Talmud as a righteous woman.

Concerning the prohibition of changing one's identity with regard to Moslems, there is no prohibition in the eyes of Maimonides, who determined in his response to Ovadya the Proselyte (Responsa, no. 369) that the Ishmaelites (Moslems) are not idolaters at all. "And idolatry has already been cut off from their mouths and from their hearts. And they profess a proper unification of God, a unification that has no defect."

Other medieval commentators

disagree with Maimonides over the status of the Moslems, but one may rely upon Maimonides in a critical situation. Accordingly, where vital security is concerned, there is no denial of a central tenet of faith with the assumption of a Moslem identity, nor does the "die and do not transgress" rule apply, because they too believe in the perfect unity of God.

WE MUST now clarify the allegedly unfair methods of investigation employed by the security forces. Would they be permitted by the Halacha? In order to uncover spies and terrorists one must employ violent means, fabricated claims, and wily methods. Are such methods permitted for the security of the state? Without them, the security forces would be unable to unearth intrigue or to expose the terror cells in Israel and abroad. Moreover, the use of "gentle ways" might increase murderous deeds and terror in Israel and against Diaspora communities. Since the goal is the security of Israel, its land and state, would Halacha permit the use of such irregular actions in order to reveal criminals, although at times the innocent also suffer? The violent means that may at times be employed by the security agents may also sow fear among Israel's enemies and deter them from terrorist acts.

What of the security services' rights of investigation and jurisdiction with respect to those citizens suspected of espionage? According to Halacha, they have no special judicial status or special privileges to mete out punishment. All are equal before the Halacha, law, and justice. As stated in Numbers 15:16: "One Torah, one law shall you have and the stranger who lives among you."

Still, the fact is that they are entrusted with the security of the nation, the protection of the totality of the land, and the security of the government institutions from internal and external espionage and terror. Operating in the name of the state, they are responsible for the guarding of state secrets, and it could be that they thereby acquire unique and extraordinary authority vis-a-vis the citizen, outside the regular Halacha and state law.

It is evident from the Talmud that the kings of the House of David are subject to all laws in the state. If a king commits a crime he must be tried for it.

As a result of the actions of Rabbi Shimon ben Shattach, the president of the Sanhedrin in the 2nd century BCE, the kings of Israel were placed beyond the law, being neither judges nor judged. But kings of Davidic descent remained within the legal and judicial hierarchy.

Maimonides, Rashba, and Rabbi Nissim (the Ran) maintain that the

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Decline of a dynasty

The Gandhi-Nehru family isn't what it used to be
Colin Smith writes from Delhi.

WHEN THE sub-continent divided into India and Pakistan on August 15, 1947, Vijayalakshmi Pandit was its ambassador to Moscow. She remembers sitting glued to the embassy radio and listening with tears of joy as Jawaharlal Nehru, her adored elder brother, told the world that India would be free at midnight.

Mrs. Pandit, who is now 87, lives in the town of Dehra Dun, which is famous for three things: its military academy, established by the British; its prisons, where the Raj once incarcerated Nehru; and the Doon School, modelled on Gordonstoun. Doon's most famous old boys are Mrs. Pandit's great-nephew, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, and his younger brother Sanjay, whose death while stunt-flying brought Captain Rajiv, the contented commercial pilot, out of his own cockpit.

A couple of weeks ago I asked Mrs. Pandit, who went on to become ambassador to the U.S. and then for eight years was high commissioner in London, whether it had occurred to her on that first independence day that, 40 years on, India would be governed by her brother's grandson and before that by his daughter. "I didn't imagine it for a moment," she snorted. "We are against

monarchies in this branch of the family. After all, we are supposed to be a democracy."

The notion that a dynasty has taken root in the country which likes to be known as the world's largest democracy disturbs much of the 10 per cent of its population who are India's educated class. Salman Rushdie has pointed out you can't beat Mrs. Gandhi's objection slogan, "India is India" and India is India for the ultimate *l'etat-c'est-moi*.

That it does not try the other 700 million or so Indians is self-evident. Otherwise they would have changed it, as they did when they voted India out of office after the 1975-77 state of emergency, when all political rights were suspended and young Sanjay's sectomy squads stalked the land.

Less than the years later, tired of the antics of politicians who never expected to govern, they voted her back again. In only other period without a Nehru-Gandhi at the helm (on the throne, their detractors would say) was the 18 months the diminutive Jai Shastri ruled before he died of a massive heart attack at Taskent in 1966, after negotiating peace with the Pakistanis.

INDIA'S FIRST 40 years as a modern nation-state was celebrated with predictable razzamattaz, but Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi was facing a hard time.

The initial success of his Sri Lanka peace accord has only partly deflected his problems at home. By far the most pressing of these, bigger even than the terrorism which murdered his mother, and the droughts that may yet do more than all the guns of the Sikh Separatists, are the accusations of corruption against his administration regarding a howitzer deal with Sweden's Bofors company.

Some \$25 million is alleged to have been paid in bribes, otherwise known as commissions, to unnamed Indian middlemen for the 155 mm. artillery pieces which some Indian Army gunners now maintain are not the right weapons for them anyway.

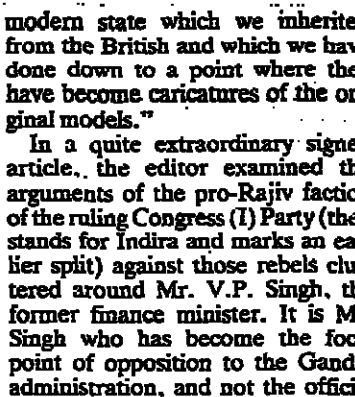
Newspapers like, notably *The Indian Express*, have hinted that Rajiv himself had his hands in the till. He has responded with a simple statement that neither he, nor any members of his family, is corrupt. Some people have found this moving. Others, including his great-aunt, regard it as inadequate and positively Nixonian of the "I am not a crook" school.

"If I were he I would either resign or make a full statement," Mrs. Pandit told me over afternoon tea at her bungalow, a comfortable place, but modest compared to the extravaganzas occupied by some of the contemporary elite who have never been unduly influenced by Gandhi's self-denial. "In my day, we were ashamed if somebody was corrupt. Now, everybody seems to be corrupt."

On her chimney-piece is a signed photograph of Rajiv and to the right of it one of her father, Motilal Nehru (1861-1931), once a star of the Allahabad Law Courts. His daughter makes the point that 40th birthdays are hardly a milestone in the history of the nation.

Nevertheless, they are notoriously occasions for the introspective gloom of sober assessment rather than celebration, and even without the present whiff of scandal surrounding the leadership, there would no doubt be a temptation to open up the ledger and pluck out exactly what has been achieved.

THUS WE HAD Mr. Girilal Jain, editor of *The Times of India*, nominally a friend of Mrs. Gandhi's, writing about "the institution of a



Gandhi and Nehru in 1948; their latest successor Rajiv Gandhi; and his great-aunt, Vijayalakshmi Pandit.

modern state which we inherited from the British and which we have done down to a point where they have become caricatures of the original models."

In a quite extraordinary signed article, the editor examined the arguments of the pro-Rajiv faction of the ruling Congress (I) Party (the I stands for India and marks an earlier split) against those rebels clustered around Mr. V.P. Singh, the former finance minister. It is Mr. Singh who has become the focal point of opposition to the Gandhi administration, and not the official opposition parties who are a disparate bunch.

In the article, Mr. Jain cautioned the Rajivites against accusing Mr. Singh of hypocrisy. "Like their British mentors, they do not know," he wrote, "that every Hindu lives at many levels and in many compartments, but what is valid... in one context... is invalid, wrong and even dangerous in another context. These Wogs (Westernized Oriental Gentlemen) are unaware that Indian morality is contextual and not absolute."

"In the not-too-distant past, almost all Wogs drew attention to the fact that a trader who would

regularly visit the temple... would have no compunction in short-changing his customers... it never occurred to them that for the trader they were different spheres of activity."

The Nehrus, Kashmiri Brahmins, who have always thought themselves a cut above most other people, were Westernized early. They were part of a new class of Indians that emerged in the mid-19th century and included representatives of all the races and religions on the sub-continent. They were united by one thing: they spoke English.

RAJIV GANDHI, as the editor of *The Times of India* had pointed out, is an extremely Westernized fellow. From Doon he went on to Cambridge, where he failed to get a degree in mechanical science but developed his taste for jazz (Miles Davis and early Stan Getz) and fell in love with an Italian language student called Sonia, whom he married.

Sonia always showed great distaste for the sycophantic Indian political scene and Rajiv seemed quite content to leave the pickings there to younger brother Sanjay. "He was a family man, a good man, a good boy" recalled his great-aunt. "He

was not a scholar, but so what? He had a happy marriage, which is a rare thing nowadays."

"He was absolutely unpolitical. He wanted to be a pilot from the time he was at school. After Sanjay was killed, I was the only one to advise him not to be pressured into politics. I said, 'Only if you really want to.' He had such a happy social life. One should not criticize his friends, but he should not have involved them in politics."

When, three years after Sanjay's death, India was killed, and Congress decided there could be no other successor but Rajiv, he announced that he wanted to attract a new breed to politics. "I want," he said, "intelligent, Westernized young men with non-feral, non-criminal ideas, who want to make India prosper rather than merely themselves."

This was all greeted with tremendous enthusiasm. Those who wondered why a 40-year-old ex-pilot with three years in politics should be running the second largest country in the world were not heard, if they spoke at all.

Rajiv found the architects for his new India among his chums. One was a former pilot whose Dutch wife was friendly with Sonia; another was a friend from Doon and Cambridge; and a third was Amitabh Bachchan, the lanky John Travolta of Indian films, and his younger brother Ajitabh. In one way or another they let him down.

The *Indian Express* has just revealed that Ajitabh almost certainly broke India's foreign exchange regulations (abused by most rich Indians) by buying a flat in Switzerland when he was still officially resident in New Delhi.

Rajiv has now fallen back on Congress's old guard, the men he once spurned. Elections are two years off and as Arun Shorie, the editor of the *Express* pointed out to me, even Peron of Argentina came back twice. But I would be willing to take money that Rajiv will be the last of the Nehru-Gandhis to rule India.

(London Observer Service)

The charges against Rajiv

IN A RECENT issue, the popular *Illustrated Weekly of India* devoted nine pages to direct accusations against Gandhi by one of the country's most prominent lawyers, Ram Jethmalani, an ex-member of parliament of the Janata Party, challenging him to reply to the charges or, at the least, to sue him for defamation of character.

The story apparently began in 1977 when the Swedish firm of Bofors faced a sharp decline in its arms sales and the entire area surrounding the factory was threatened with severe unemployment. Martin Adlo, head of Bofors, in a desperate search for new orders, discovered that the only countries willing to buy their products were in the Middle East, but Sweden had blacklisted them and therefore Bofors attempted to sell to India 4000 howitzers and the technology for producing them locally. The company appointed Win Chadha as its agent in India, but negotiations were suspended when Prime Minister Gandhi was ousted from power. They were resumed by Chadha when Indira was re-elected in 1980, and her son Sanjay entered the cabinet.

It was not until the end of 1985, however, when Rajiv Gandhi was also defence minister, that the Indian government finalized the deal with Bofors. Part of the delay had been caused by faults previously found in the howitzers, but these were rectified.

It was Win Chadha's sudden exclusion from the arms deal after nine years as Bofors' agent that aroused suspicion. This intensified when a letter was sent by Bofors to the Indian under-secretary for defence, stating: "We hereby confirm that we do not have any representative agent in India."

The date on this letter was March 10, 1986. Jethmalani refers to it as a fraud.

A BROADCAST by Swedish Radio on April 16, 1987, provided the first indications that the suspicions were well-founded. It alleged vast kickbacks through Swiss banks to Indian politicians and key defence officials involved in the Bofors deal.

The official reaction was merely that "the report is entirely baseless and mischievous." Swedish Radio, undeterred, repeated its charges and supported them with information supplied by the Bank of Sweden, confirming payment into Indian accounts in Swiss banks.

Bofors did not deny the payments, but rejected their description as "bribes." According to Jethmalani: "Even this evasive denial did not generate doubt in the minds of Rajiv Gandhi and his pliant advisers, not even when the radio threatened to come out with more details."

Lately, the Indian government issued a half-hearted admission that it knew someone "who on behalf of Bofors looked after hotel bookings, and other minor services such as forwarding of

Ya'akov Morris lists growing number of allegations being made against the Indian premier

mail." Obviously, according to Jethmalani, "they knew of Win Chadha and his Anatronic Corporation and its total activities."

In the meantime, the Swedish government required its Audit Board to carry out an audit of Bofors to find out what payments had been recorded. According to the Swedish Radio, the board concluded, on oral and written admissions of Bofors, "that they had a paid agent in India who participated in the howitzer deal with the Indian government and who was paid for his services 500 million rupees (nearly \$40 million) in November-December 1986. All these payments were made to Swiss accounts in the Swiss Bank Corporation."

In his article, "Accuse," Jethmalani comments: "The government of India's initial stand that there was no agent in the deal, that no one had received any payments and the entire story of the Swedish radio was a concoction to destabilize the country, has turned out to be a colossal falsehood."

THE FINAL payment to Win Chadha for his services on the conclusion of the arms deal is rightly described as "fantastic." Obviously, it was not made cover hotel and mail expenses. Nor was it timely payment made to the agent. Apparently for nine years, between the beginning of his services until they were terminated and he disappeared from the scene, Chadha received monthly salary of 200,000 rupees (over \$150).

Jethmalani is certain that the 500 million rupees added as final "compensation" after his "disposal" was not destined for Chadha, but that he is, in fact, merely a conduit for paying money to others. In one of his "questionnaires" to Prime Minister Gandhi he asks, *inter alia*: "Have you heard of a company called 'Lotus'?" Have you heard by now, or at any time earlier, that Bofors monies which went from the Bank of Sweden into Swiss accounts were styled 'Lotus'?" (Lotus, incidentally, is *rajiv* in Sanskrit.)

Two of Rajiv Gandhi's close personal friends, Ajitabh and Ajitabh Bachchan and their wives are the principal shareholders in the Lotus company in India. It is also the name of a company incorporated in Lugano, in Switzerland. Jethmalani points out: "Right at the time when the Bofors monies were being siphoned into Swiss accounts, Ajitabh established a clan-

destine residence in an expensive property in a fashionable Swiss town. Inquiries reveal that the property is owned by Lotus. Rajiv Gandhi and the Bachchans are great friends, so are their wives. Surely they take one another into confidence. What has Rajiv Gandhi learned from them about the circumstances of Ajitabh's migration and Swiss settlement? Gandhi's silence in protecting his friends is remarkable conduct from one who owes a duty of candour to the nation."

WHAT JETHMALANI calls his "Third Charge Sheet" against Rajiv Gandhi is connected with King Hussein of Jordan. *Inter alia*, it reads: "Do you own, possess, or habitually use two cars, one a Rolls-Royce and another a Mercedes? Did you buy them or receive them as presents? Has an airline of Jordan been trying to secure landing and traffic rights at Indian airports? Are these two vehicles a part of presents from the King of Jordan? How did these cars get into this country and cleared at the customs?"

There is another curious offshoot of the Bofors arms scandal. It is Rajiv Gandhi's claim that he spoke to the late Swedish prime minister, Olof Palme, to ensure that no middleman were involved in the howitzer deal. Palme was assassinated in February 1986. One wonders, if he were alive today, what his version of the story would be. One also wonders whether the Bofors deal had any connection with his murder. Significantly, no document at either the Swedish or Indian records this conversation.

In a bitter exchange that took place between Rajiv Gandhi and Ram Jethmalani after the latter launched his attack, Gandhi brushed off the accusations of corruption by saying that he felt no need "to reply to every dog that barked." Whereupon, Jethmalani retorted: "Dogs only bark when there are thieves in the neighbourhood."

RAJIV GANDHI has lost almost every state election since he succeeded his mother, but it may well be the Bofors scandal that finally proves to be his Achilles heel. A note to the Indian government from the trade department of the Swedish Foreign Ministry states *inter alia*: "According to the National Audit Board Bureau investigation, an agreement exists on settlement of commission subsequent to the howitzer deal and information exists that considerable sums have been disbursed in connection with this contract. There have been other payments made by Bofors during the period in question, the purpose and recipient of which it has not been possible to clarify with the aid of the data available in the National Audit Bureau. Only AB Bofors is in a position to give a full account of its own payments. The government has therefore again urged AB Bofors to assist in shedding light on the matter."

David Horowitz on the Baltic protests

Belated revolt against Stalin

AS FAR AS Moscow is concerned, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia are all part of one big happy Soviet family. Official Soviet history would have us believe that when the Red Army stormed into the Baltic states in 1940, Stalin was responding to Baltic leaders' call for liberation from the fascists.

The reality is rather different, but it is a reality that has escaped attention for almost 50 years. Until this week, that is.

Last Sunday - the 48th anniversary of the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact that allowed Stalin to extend his territory westwards with impunity - saw demonstrations of varying size in all three of the Baltic capitals.

In Vilnius (Vilna), Lithuania's capital city, 500 people staged a two-hour vigil. In Latvia's capital, Riga, a three-hour protest was held, with an estimated 5,000 taking part. And in Tallinn, capital of Estonia, a small group of demonstrators was watched by a larger group of onlookers in the city square.

The demonstrators sang patriotic songs, and chanted "freedom, freedom," while police looked on impassively. A small number of arrests were made in Riga, but the 11 held were later released. There were no document checks, no efforts to intimidate participants.

It had taken them almost half a century, but the peoples of the Baltic had finally overcome their fears and expressed opposition to the way in which their republics had been incorporated into the Soviet Union. And, quite incredibly, the authorities made no attempt to stop them.

According to historian Norman Davies, a professor at the University of London, the demonstrations were not so much a demand for national independence, as a call for cultural autonomy, "a protest at the way in which their traditions are slowly being submerged. Their aims are not clearly formulated, but these demonstrations were a kind of plea

from the Baltics that they be left alone. They want to preserve their own culture, language and religion."

THE August 1939 Nazi-Soviet pact, and the Treaty of Demarcation and Friendship that followed one month later, heralded an era of unprecedented violence for Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. Stalin had agreed to let Hitler do what he liked in Denmark, Norway, Holland, Belgium and France, while he turned his attention to Finland, the Baltic and Romania.

The first Stalin purges, however, paled by comparison with the massacres that followed Hitler's occupation of 1941. The prime targets were the Jews, but the suffering was widespread, and when Hitler was done, the Russians came back, in 1944-45, this time to persecute the "Nazi collaborators."

"Before the war, the Baltic states were truly multinational," says Davies. "Estonia had a lot of people of Polish origin, and a lot of Jews. So did Latvia, and Vilna, of course, was the capital of the Yiddish-speaking world, with a 40 per cent Jewish population."

"By 1945, though, the Poles and the Jews had gone, leaving only the ethnic Lithuanians, Latvians and Estonians, who have been slowly swamped ever since by the Russians. The result has been a classic ethnic conflict."

While Davies accepts that it is only

in this era of *glasnost* that the demonstrations could have taken place at all, and he appreciates that the Soviet Union is at last beginning to re-examine the nature of Stalin's dealings with Hitler, he has no illusions over the likelihood of the tiny Baltic peoples - combined population 10 million - achieving even the limited degree of autonomy they seek.

"The Communist Party is a Soviet party; there's no separate party for Latvia, Lithuania or Estonia. It's almost impossible to organize a separate national administration in the Soviet republic," says Davies.

He points out, too, that the Baltic republics are "far away from the most prosperous area of the Soviet Union, with a much higher standard of living than the rest. The Baltics are a major economic asset to the Soviet Union, renowned for their efficiency and high productivity levels. It is no accident that Gorbachev chooses factories in the Baltics for his experiments on production management."

But Davies does feel that the Kremlin would be unwise to underestimate the degree of nationalist fervour in the region, and particularly the religious element.

"Catholicism is still a prominent feature in Lithuania, as is Protestantism in Latvia and Estonia. And the Catholics, in particular, are very militant and feel very persecuted."

The fact that feelings are still running high 50 years on, says Davies, is evidence of how strongly the Baltic peoples reject their incorporation into the Soviet Union. And the people of the Baltic, he stresses, are not the only ones with nationalist grievances to bear. Their demonstrations, discreetly monitored by Soviet police, might well strike chords in the Ukraine and Moslem Central Asia.

There were only a few thousand people on the streets this time. One wonders how the Gorbachev administration might deal with demonstrations 10 times the size of last Sunday's.

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FEATURES

Not only pupils can be afraid. Susan Bellos reports on the problems and achievements of teachers of English

Fear of teaching

"I'M SCARED, stiff" is not the kind of thing you expect to hear from a veteran teacher. But it's a fair guess that just as the nation's half a million school pupils may be looking forward to next week with a certain degree of fear and loathing, this sentiment is shared by many of their teachers.

"Teaching," says Efraim Weintraub, the national secretary of Etai, the English Teachers Association of Israel, "is tough."

Interestingly enough, the organization he and his associates serve on a purely voluntary basis probably represents the best and most enthusiastic teachers in the country. Unlike teachers of any other subject, just over half of Israel's 3,000 qualified English teachers are fully paid-up members of an organization which is devoted exclusively to raising professional standards.

Set up as a grassroots organization in 1979, partly at the instigation of Raphael Gefen, the Education Ministry's indefatigable chief English inspector, and partly by teachers in the field, Etai seems to be getting stronger every year.

"English teachers," says Weintraub, "have a sense of mission." This may be partially due to the fact that, unlike the rest of Israeli teachers today, almost half of them are still native speakers of English. They retain some of their native characteristics such as social concern and enthusiasm for their work, and they enjoy maintaining their old con-

tacts. This is often reflected in the slightly anarchic youth-movement atmosphere that sometimes flavours Etai meetings. But the main reason that English teachers approximate more closely to the old Israeli notion of an educator lies more in the nature of their syllabus—or the lack of it.

English in Israel today, thanks largely to the efforts of Raphael Gefen, is no longer a question of swotting up set books. English and American literature is still highly regarded by many English teachers, especially when teaching brighter pupils, but it is by no means regarded as the be-all and end-all of English-language learning. English teaching in Israel has actually been taken, with some rather ladylike kicking and screaming along the way, away from Shakespeare and firmly into the mainstream regarding it as a means of international communication, and this has opened the windows of a lot of rather stuffy classrooms.

"English as a means of communication" in daily practice often means stirring up classroom discussion after reading topical newspaper and magazine articles. Not surprisingly, this tends to provoke argument.

"English teachers often act as a sort of catalyst," says Weintraub. "Pupils often feel less inhibited about discussing controversial subjects in a foreign language. Dissent is suddenly legitimized."

As a result, subjects such as Arab-Jewish relations, democracy, Aids, drugs and the generation gap tend to get a much more thorough airing in the English-language classrooms than anywhere else in Israeli schools today. Reasoned discussion of these heated topics is now encouraged, for the simple fact that since last year, 20 per cent of the English exam in the *bagrut* is now oral, and it includes one-to-one discussions.

INTERNATIONAL communication means legitimizing other things too, says Sheila Been, who is Etai's chairperson and works as senior coordinator in English at Educational Television. She points out that Etai is a member of the International Association of Teachers of English as a Foreign Language, and regularly sends delegates to their conferences. Consequently, Israeli teachers have held regular meetings with their counterparts from the Soviet Union, Hungary, Yugoslavia and the Arab countries.

Been pointed out that Etai's second international conference on teaching English to speakers of other languages, which will take place in Jerusalem next summer, has already elicited enquiries from Hungary, Poland, India, Turkey, Sierra Leone, Peru and Chile. This is without any advance publicity.

Part of the reason for this international interest is the fact that Israel boasts a very high standard of English-language proficiency, com-



paring extremely well with Western Europe. The upper level of the *bagrut* exam is similar to Holland's—which perhaps accounts for some of those sinking feelings among English teachers about next week. There are also some world names among Israeli English teachers such as the kibbutznik Penny Ur, whose *Discussions that Work*, published by Cambridge University Press, has become a classic textbook in Western Europe.

The British, who seem to have cornered a very large chunk of what has become the highly lucrative world market in the teaching of English as a foreign language, regularly send delegates to national Etai meetings. The British Council, Weintraub and Been point out, has provided constant support, both moral and material, since Etai's inception.

THE DRIVE for high standards is fuelled by the immense importance

Israeli parents attach to learning English. Unlike the Arabic that is spoken by the millions around us, English is regarded as the language of prestige and opportunity, and according to Etai, everybody and anybody wants to learn it.

This is liable to have some unfortunate side-effects, points out Weintraub, since everybody and anybody also wants to teach it. Too much parental pressure often gets English taught too early, and then by the least qualified teachers, who tend to stick in elementary schools.

Very often, anxious parents who pay the means pay for one of this city's more flourishing rackets—private English lessons.

According to Weintraub, there are thousands of private English teachers operating today. They range from the qualified who want to earn extra money to failed teachers, untrained and unqualified native speakers, or just anybody trying to make a buck.

Native speakers, especially British speakers, often have immense appeal for Israelis who have been beguiled by the accents of another English-speaking export industry, television. Those longing to hear their offspring enunciate in accents of the Pallisers are often aware that excellent and correct English is today spoken in a vast array of different accents, ranging from a British to a Singaporean and an Indian.

Weintraub is keen to point out that qualified native speakers often make better teachers, because they are more sensitive to the language and more aware of the difficulties involved in learning it.

ETAI HAS a canny approach to these problems. Instead of making disapproving noises about the thousands of private teachers, it has dignified them by calling them "One-to-One Teachers" and using

all their contacts to get them to the organization's meetings. While Etai can hardly license the unqualified, it can, says Weintraub, try to get them out of the closet and expose them to what is going on in good English-teaching today.

Another problem that can't be easily tackled at an official level is the brainchild of Etai executive member Natalie Hess. She wants to set up support networks for the teacher who is scared stiff, which she calls "buddy groups." Teachers regularly go for in-service training, which is organized by the Education Ministry. But it's simply not done for teachers to openly admit their fears of failure right in front of inspectors and senior-teacher trainers. Many different kinds of teachers from the raw and inexperienced to older ones suffering from burn-out—or the fear of it—need help from their colleagues.

It's useful, for example, to talk about the immensely difficult job of teaching a class of 41 fractious junior high-schoolers, in the crucial first weeks of the school year. It's also useful, and probably vital, for teachers to brainstorm about the even more difficult task of teaching English to educationally disadvantaged pupils.

The Etai teachers, Sheila Been cheerfully admits, may be deviants in Israeli society. After all, she points out, teachers who spend their holidays going to workshops in different cities during the summer heat "might be considered nuts." But the fact is that these 1,500 teachers are fighting a battle of eroding standards in a rapidly deteriorating profession. Few Israeli mothers boast today of "my son the teacher," and many of these very serious professionals have a face a plummeting status in Israeli society.

Etai is a very dignified response. As Sheila Been said, "It gives us a sense of worth."

The Torah portion this week is Shofetim (Deuteronomy 16:18-21:9) The Haftara is Isaiah 51:12-52:12

TORA TODAY/Pinhas H. Peli

The universal dream

EVERYONE (well, almost everyone) agrees that war is ugly, undesirable, and that peace is beautiful, a universal dream. Nowhere is peace the subject of so much exaltation and more profound yearning as in the Bible.

The peace that the prophets of Israel envisioned was not merely a cessation of fighting, which sometimes originates in a "balance of dread," as each hostile party to a conflict fears the other's might and missile deployments. The prophets spoke about peace in which nations do not "lift up swords" against each other in order to impress one another with their sophisticated weaponry, but instead "learn war no more" (Isaiah 2:4). National security rests on mutual trust rather than on loaded arsenals.

While strongly committed to peace, the Bible, nonetheless, does not ignore the reality of war as an actual likelihood in the life of nations and has more than a thing or two to say about it, things that have not lost their poignant relevance even in our days.

In the book of Deuteronomy, as Moses outlines for his people the blueprint of the future Israelite State, he also deals with wars that might occur, beyond the impending war of the liberation of the Land for which he had earlier readied them. He speaks to his people not only as a man of God, but also as an experienced general who has known bloody battles and what they do to you.

"When you go to war against your enemies and see horses and chariots and an army greater than yours, do not be afraid of them" (Deut. 20:1).

Indeed, it may be easy to tell someone else "do not be afraid," but it is not so easy to do it when you are the one who is afraid. Would it have any effect on the frightened soldier facing the horses and the chariots and an army greater than his?

Psychological warfare undoubtedly was an important factor in the outcome of wars then as now. The fact that it was the venerable Moses who advised them not to fear may have had somewhat of an impact at the time the words were said. But Tora, as we know, is not only for a certain moment: its message is eter-

nal. What then is the value of this "Do not be afraid!" for future generations.

In fact, Moses did not just say "do not be afraid!" and that was that. He added: "...because the Lord your God who brought you up (ha-na'acha) out of Egypt, will be with you." Yet, even this kind of assurance does not seem to be enough. We know that many other nations claim that their gods fight them for them and lead them to victory. Moses did not only promise Israel the help of God in their future wars and he drew not only on past experiences, recalling that since God had helped them when they came out of Egypt that was proof that he would most likely help them again. What Moses emphasized was that the God who would help them in war was the same God who "brought [them] up out of Egypt." They should not fear war, because the Lord was with them; more than that, because they were with the Lord. They had been "brought up" to become partners with God and witnesses to the truth that victory depends more than on large numbers and superior horse power and weapons. God will be with those who are with Him, those who would take it upon themselves to make sure that their camp is clean and holy (see below 23:15). They must not be afraid, because the wars they would fight and the soldier that fights them are of a different kind.

THE MESSAGE that follows, aiming to distinguish the Israelite wars and the Israelite soldier from their contemporaries, addresses itself to three areas: morale, tactics and certain modes of field behaviour which must be preserved even under adverse conditions of war. Those three together interact in giving substance to Moses' statement "do not be afraid!"

This statement was to be repeated and enlarged upon in generations to

come by the priest who would be addressing the forces when they are about to enter into battle. "He shall say to them: 'Hear, O Israel, we draw this day unto battle against your enemies, let not your heart faint, do not be afraid, nor rushed, nor alarmed by them'" (ibid., 20:3).

Following the priest come the officers announcing the exemption from active service of all those soldiers who built a new home and did not have a chance to dedicate it, or planted a vineyard but had never gathered its grapes, or betrothed himself to a wife, but had not yet taken her. Then, the officers would appear again and announce: "Any man afraid or faint-hearted, let him go home so that his brothers will not become disheartened too" (verse 8).

It is clear that the purpose of the scenario outlined above is to boost the morale of the troops and make them accept the challenge uttered originally by Moses and reiterated now by the priest, not to be afraid of the enemy. It seems, however, that the selective exemptions were made not only because a soldier whose heart was elsewhere, with his new home, vineyard or wife, would not make a good fighter. It was also to demonstrate the fact that the Israel soldier does not fight for the sake of fighting itself or for the booty that comes from it, but for the protection of normal peaceful life, represented by wife, home and vineyard.

SCRUTINIZING EVERY letter in the words of the priest and the officers uttered at this fateful moment prior to entering battle, the rabbis and commentators find in them many layers of meaning. These reflect the attitude of Israel to its enemies even during the times when Jews were not in a position to go into actual battle with them (see Mishna and Talmud, Sotah chapter 5).

The premier requisite for a people who has to face its enemies is courage. This would lead to the three specific requirements mentioned by the priest:

1. "Be not afraid!" at the sight of the powerful appearance of the enemy, described in the Mishna as "the crash of shields and the tramp of the soldiers' footwear."
2. "Do not be hasty!" (this seems to be the right translation of *al tehefezu*, not as rendered in most standard translations), war must not be entered in a rush, without proper

planning and preparation. All possible contingencies must be explored even when there is no reason to be afraid of the results of the war.

3. "Do not be alarmed," once you have entered into battle. Do not be alarmed by hostile public opinion, adverse reactions in the media or censuring resolutions in the UN.

Fearless courage, as important as it is, is not enough to lead a people into war. Following the message dealing with the morale of the troops (20:1-9) is another message (ibid., 10-18), dealing with the proper tactics to be used "when you draw nigh unto a city to fight against it," and that is to first "proclaim peace unto it."

Going to war must have been weighed carefully and planned for a long time. But one last chance must nevertheless be given to an alternative peaceful settlement of the conflict. According to a daring rabbinic statement quoted in the Midrash (*Devarim* Rabbah 5,13) this last-minute call for peace became divine law only after it was first practised by Moses in an earlier case. Contrary to the rest of Tora, where God commands and Moses accepts, this time (and only twice more) it was Moses who first acted and "the Almighty agreed with him" to stipulate it as law. It is one of the rare cases where the humanistic consideration influenced the divine concern, and not vice versa.

The final part of the message dealing with the preparations for battle (20:19-20) warns against the perils of forgetting that war is not a goal in itself, not a permanent situation. Even during war, one must remember that life will eventually return to normal. The fierce siege around a city should not result in scorched fields and rampant destruction of all life. "Do not destroy trees by putting an axe to them, because you may eat of them... Only the trees that you know that they are not fruit trees you may destroy." Fighting a war of death, must not erase our "divine image" and blot out our concern for life.

This threefold message of Tora's guidelines in time of war serves as a guarantee to the promise that the Lord will be with Israel when they go to war. The question asked is not whether God is on our side, but rather, if we are on the side of God. The same sentiment is expressed by the prophet in the last verses of the Haftara read on this Sabbath (Isaiah 52:11-12). By distancing all uncleanness and purifying themselves, Israel will live to see the Lord "marching before them," and also the God of Israel "as their guard."

Rabbi Peli is professor of Jewish thought and literature, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev.

Pacifists for tennis

TELEREVIEW/Philip Gillon

IN THIS week's brilliant episode of the American comedy series, *Arty Tizer*, Stephen, the pacifist father, believing that there is a bulwar downstairs, goes down to tackle the intruder. He arms himself with a tennis racket rather than a handgun. This is because he and his wife's former flower children of the Sixties, are opposed to violence at all weapons.

Not only do his principles betray that he is no longer with it, his choice of racket was a complete giveaway that his tennis is as old-fashioned as his pacifism. It was an aluminium, small size, which could have made as little impact on a burglar's head as it would on a tennis ball. Off the track is off the track—if a pacifist does decide to make war, not love, when his house is invaded, he should at least use a giant-sized racket made of a mixture of graphite, boron and silicone carbon, with a large "sweet spot" and a heavy head, ideal for an overhead smash, which I presume was the shot he intended to use on the burglar.

Two other comedies also surprised themselves this week. *Are You Being Served?* and *Who's the Boss?* In the English comedy, Mrs. Slovic gets hit on the head with a golf-ball, and the injury to her brain makes her revert to being the little girl named Betty she once was. The resultant scenes were hilarious and she certainly earned her imitation fur coat.

Mona as a graduate student getting a job in *Who's the Boss?* was a delight, particularly in the scene in which she tries not to get the job, so as to be able to claim that the firm turning her down was guilty of discrimination against older women.

Add to these a good episode of *Alf* on Tuesday afternoon, and we can say that we have had a very good week. Even the news has been slightly less ghastly than usual.

MY SPIES tell me that there has been a shake-up in Television House, with Rafi Ginat moving from *Kolboret* to become head of the entertainment section, and Arye Orgad taking over the consumer protection programme.

In the light of these changes, it is

understandable that a large chunk of the review, the best of Meni Pe'er's programmes during the year, should have been devoted to Rafi Ginat. If Confucius did not lay down the precept, "If the boss wants to sing, the wise man will make him the highlight of the programme," he certainly should have done so.

Actually, Ginat sang very well indeed, and I liked his selection of songs very much. I trust that he was so satisfied with the high quality of this show that he will resist the temptation to axe Meni and to take over the Friday night show himself.

It is also to be hoped that Rivka Michaeli will not fall victim to the suggestion of a new broom to sweep clean. The trouble with giving somebody a new job is that he feels that he is to change things to prove that he is introducing reforms.

Arye Orgad got off to a first class start as the new comper of *Kolboret*. He is such a competent professional and so good and pleasant a host of ceremonies that I am certain he will make a success of his new job.

The first item on the programme was voted to the abysmal failure of Israel to collect waste paper, glass and plastic for recycling. While the programme concentrated on the appalling economic folly of failing to recycle wastes, thereby saving millions of dollars, there is also the aspect of polluting the environment.

The original Zionist dream was that the Jews should return to their homeland, make the desert blossom like rose. We are certainly doing this in some places. Elsewhere we are turning a land of roses into a wasteland.

Sometimes the sight and smell of rotting rubbish is so bad that I am almost tempted to propose a new solution to the little East problem—we should offer to give the Arabs Israel in exchange for one of their countries that is unpolluted, thus giving us another place to pollute.

When the Jews came back to their homeland, they got down on their hands and knees and kissed the face of that precious land. What over, they set to work to see that beloved face with muck. Ben Byron

commented: "Man marks the earth with ruin—his control stops with the shore," he did not know us. After giving the land and most rivers a beating, we're working hard on making a mess of the ocean.

Several people on the programme quoted the way in which the Swiss collect all waste for recycling in separate bins marked paper, glass and plastic—in fact though nobody mentioned this poignant addition, the Swiss even have separate provisions for dog-droppings! Tivon, to its great credit, is trying a similar system, and it is proving a great success.

Of course, Switzerland is a very poor country, short of foreign currency, quite unlike Israel, which is so very wealthy that we need not bother about saving several million dollars by a process so tedious and time-consuming as recycling. We can always get as much foreign currency as we want from our rich Uncle Sam, and when the country gets too noisy, we can always grab somebody else's land.

Zeev Ellenbogen, chairman of an inter-ministerial committee investigating the problem of saving dollars through recycling, said that the Israeli populace, unlike the Swiss, are incapable of the discipline needed to separate their waste and to place it in appropriate bins.

I was very pleased when Dr. Uri Marinov, chairman of the Council for the Protection of the Environment, blasted this group libel as utter nonsense. I have seen how conscientiously Israelis try to save paper and paper products, despite the fact that there are so few bins scattered around in the big cities, and none in smaller towns. The weakness is in the administration, not the nation.

THE CONSCIENCE of a television reviewer is a very nasty animal. Last week I criticized, honestly but admittedly harshly, Laurence Olivier's performance as Harry Burrard, the broken-down, drunken comedian in *Lost Empires*. This week he shot himself. I'm damned if my conscience is not claiming that it's my fault for writing such nasty things about Olivier. Crazy, but that's how my conscience operates.

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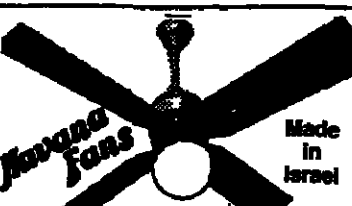
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Soltam finds a balance

THE STRUGGLE for one's livelihood is an end which justifies any and all means," said our old friend Yehoshua Peretz, who as head of the Ashdod Port works committee stood the country on its ear in the early 1970s. He was commenting this week on the dramatic events at the Soltam plant in Yokneam.

The firebrands heading the Soltam works committee, responsible for the forced confinement for 38 hours of the heads of the Histadrut-owned firm, and of the chairman of the board and the managing director of the Histadrut industrial combine, Koor, asserted the same, when given the chance to perform on the TV evening news.

The Koor and Soltam leadership deserve praise for not immediately calling in the police to lift the siege. Instead, they succeeded in talking the works committee leaders into swallowing hard and backing down from their rash action.

But Soltam is only one case in a broader, troubled labour scene, in a period in which the economy has been contracting. It is not the first firm which has been forced to lay off many hundreds and even thousands of workers and, regrettably, it will apparently not be the last.

There were Ata, Vulcan, and the Israel Shipyard. The Rom Carmel Industries closed down and laid off scores of workers in its Tirat Hacarmel plant at the same time as the troubles were erupting in neighbouring Yokneam. Waiting in the wings

was Beit Shemesh Engines. And one of the major factors in the government's footdragging in taking a decision on the Lavi jet fighter is its fear of creating mass unemployment at Israel Aircraft Industries, Israel's single largest industrial employer.

In order to prevent the case of Soltam from turning into a model for further labour anarchy, it is important that the ground be cut out from under the tenet that anything goes when fighting for one's livelihood. But in order to establish some modicum of order and self-restraint in the face of possible labour anarchy, it is just as essential that workers be given confidence that if and when serious troubles hit their place of employment, they will not be thrown on the rubbish heap.

Ata was such an unconscionable case. The fact that 2,000 employees, many of whom had given their lives to Ata, were thrown out of work as the result of the owners' and management's cynical manipulations and monumental irresponsibility, has been cited as a cause for mounting the barricades, both in the case of the Israel Shipyard and of Soltam; and understandably so.

THIS WEEK'S events at Soltam have provided a field day for the Likud and other right-wing critics of Histadrut ownership of economic enterprises in addition to its basic trade union function. Ironically, in the case of Soltam, the Histadrut and Koor have behaved in a fashion

diametrically opposed to that of the owners of Ata.

There is undeniably a theoretical conflict of interest between the Histadrut as a trade union which organizes and represents over 90 per cent of Israel's salaried workers, and the Histadrut in the guise of employer, which employs over 25 per cent of the labour force. The case of Soltam, however, provides impressive evidence of how it is possible to overcome such a conflict of interests, and how a responsible and compassionate Histadrut and Koor management sought to find a balance between its pure economic interests and the human interests of the workers.

Had Soltam been a private company, like Ata or Rom Carmel, it would have been closed down years ago, when the bottom fell out of the lucrative Iranian arms market, and certainly at the beginning of this year when it apparently lost its bid to supply 120mm mortars to the U.S. Army. The fact is that Koor and the Soltam management stood on its head not to lay off too many workers.

The managers, who were imprisoned by the irate works committee this week, had come to inform them of the additional, clearly uneconomic, attempts that were being made to keep on 'as many workers as possible, after nearly a year in which the Yokneam plant had been manufacturing over \$70m. worth of armaments for which no buyers had been found.

An important development which will have an important bearing on the country's labour troubles was a Supreme Court decision handed down a few weeks ago in the case of a maritime officers' strike in the early years of this decade. In that strike, the maritime officers had abandoned ships at the entrance to Haifa port, purposely blocking the port. After lengthy litigation, the Supreme Court found in favour of a group of importers who charged that the union's action had forced them to pay for trans-shipment goods that could not be unloaded in Haifa port due to that blockade. The Maritime Officers Union and the Histadrut were ordered to pay the importers damages.

This was a precedent in Israel. Previously, the strike weapon was considered to be sacrosanct, and impervious to police or court interference. In its ruling, the court said that the strike weapon had originally been developed to right the imbalance between helpless, exploited workers and much more powerful exploiting employers. But in recent years, there were cases in which that imbalance had clearly tilted in the other direction. In such a new situation, strikers should not be entitled to automatic and total protection against claims of damages on the part of injured third parties, the court ruled.

Although the court circumscribed the ruling in respect to the circumstances in other such potential cases,

Yosef Goell argues that the human factor should not be ignored when sacking are contemplated by hand-pressed industries.

this precedent may well provide new possibilities for dealing with strikes where the intention is to purposely inconvenience, and even harm, the public, as a means of getting the politicians to give in on wage demands in the public services. It would be desirable if other injured individuals and groups, whether parents of schoolchildren or hospital patients, would seek to file test cases when such strikes do break out in their respective areas.

THE NEXT few years will undoubtedly be a period of further economic contraction, in which various union leaders will be sorely

tempted to disregard all constraints in their labour battles. What is needed from the political centre — meaning the government and the Histadrut — is a clear double signal: that such labour anarchy will not be tolerated, and that elements of an injured public will be encouraged to fight back; but, on the other hand, that workers, who are legitimately concerned about their economic security, can be assured that the country's leaders are prepared to defend workers' interests, without their having to resort to violence.

One of the wonderful things about Israel, even in such difficult times, is

that for all the blind copying of things American — usually the mindlessly copyable American garbage, rather than the good aspects of American life — we have not succumbed to emulating the fatalistic and brutal American and European attitudes on the inevitability of large-scale unemployment. But implementing our own, much more humane approach to such problems in a period of difficulties requires a much higher level of performance on the part of our top political leadership.

The writer is a member of The Jerusalem Post editorial staff.

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Bernard Sussner considers proposals to change the electoral system in Israel

izing the continental European political experience out of which the Zionist movement emerged.

This uniqueness is most dramatically evident with regard to the American party system. There is hardly another country in the world with anything like it - certainly no other major Western democracy. American parties are largely regional organizations that coalesce into integrated units only when faced with national elections. Between elections, their presence is only moderately felt. The party discipline they "enforce" is weak at best; by Israeli standards, it is laughable.

I emphasize this point because of its direct bearing upon the issue of a presidential system for Israel. Presidential politics are most vulnerable to friction and ineffectiveness in those regularly recurring cases where the legislature and the executive - being elected independently of each other - are controlled by different, hostile parties. Deadlock would appear to be the natural issue.

When, by contrast, the party of the president is simultaneously in control of the legislature, there would appear to be virtually nothing to impede the exercise of almost unlimited power. Succinctly put: in the search for a wise equilibrium between efficiency and safeguards, presidential systems fail to strike the proper balance. When legislatures are hostile, the safeguards are paralyzing; when the legislature is sympathetic, the efficiency is alarming.

The American system, however, has developed a complex and finely-tuned mechanism for delaying with those recurrent situations. A president who faces a "hostile" legislature has little trouble in exerting his considerable influence, in twisting arms, horsestrading and simply convincing the potentially oppositional legislator to vote for his legislative

government nor yet able to control them.

IT REQUIRES no imagination to picture how very differently this same system would work were it imported to Israel. First of all, Israeli parties are highly centralized and strictly disciplined. Individual members of the Knesset have virtually no latitude for personal judgment where a party decision has already been taken.

Furthermore, Israeli parties, like all Israeli public life, are shot through with intense ideological cleavages to which bi-partisanship is entirely foreign. Our system, besides, is unitary and centralized, without important regional interests to moderate central executive control.

An Israeli president faced with a hostile legislature could, therefore, expect none of the largesse accorded to his American counterpart. This confrontation would, in fact, be unmitigated - flint on flint.

If the president controlled the legislature, his power would be such as to give pause to concerned democrats. The many and subtle restraining forces of the American system would be absent. On the entire Israeli political horizon there is no real power that could threaten his very formidable position.

A country with a short democratic tradition, operating in circumstances of great national anxiety, confronted by a barrage of continual crises, and displaying a disturbing popular longing for strong, centralized leadership, would be ill-advised to adopt a system that might play into the hands of the darker forces of its public life.

But the objection will surely be raised: if the American system is inapplicable, what of other forms of

presidential politics, such as the French semi-presidential arrangement. (That is a directly-elected president who appoints a prime minister responsible to parliament?)

Scrutinizing the record of French politics over the last three decades only serves to dramatize the problems endemic to presidential politics. Until quite recently, the president and the majority of parliament were of the same party, with the familiar scenario of virtually oppositionless politics. The present turmoil surrounding what the French call "cohabitation," in which the president and the legislature come from hostile parties, only highlights the travail of deadlock.

Most daunting of all is the attempt to create a true synthesis of president and parliamentary systems, one in which a directly-elected executive is nevertheless responsible to parliament. Textbook wisdom has it that such hybrids are impossible and in fact, no such system has been adopted anywhere.

The obvious problem it faces appears to disqualify it forthwith. Were the president elected, even by a landslide majority, he could be deposed the very next day by a hostile majority in parliament. This, of course, would mean the destruction of the executive and the utter demoralization of the democratic process.

RECENTLY, a group of jurists from Tel Aviv University's law faculty under the chairman of the dean Prof. Uriel Reichman, presented a draft constitution for Israel in which such a hybrid system is proposed.

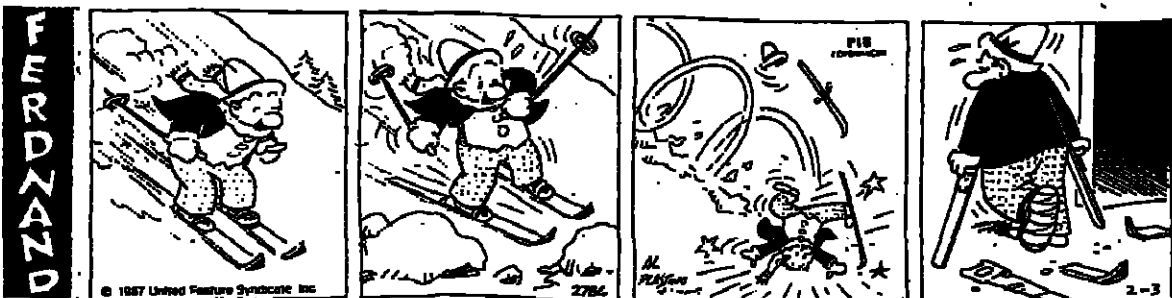
The group was united in its desire to strengthen the executive but badly split between the advocates of a presidential system and supporters of parliamentarism. What emerged from marathon debates on that issue is a unique creation that occupies a true mid-point between parliamentary and presidential systems. It might be called a "parliamentary" system. (Reichman's Hebrew term was *nest'asari*.)

In its simplest terms, the system works as follows: The prime minister is directly and popularly elected, but removable by a special majority of 60 per cent of the Knesset. Such a vote of no confidence would not only depose the prime minister; it would also mean the dispersal of the Knesset and new elections for both the executive and the legislature.

The ingeniousness of the proposal is the way it maneuvers between the 40 per cent necessary for a government to survive and the 50 per cent required to pass its legislative package.

In the present system, when a small coalition partner threatens to withdraw its support, unless its demands are met, the government has only two choices: to capitulate or to fall. The proposed system would allow a government to reject such demands without falling. It could reduce its parliamentary support to below the 50 per cent mark without fearing for its survival.

Nor would the hostile majority created by a "retreat" to below the 50 per cent mark bring the paralysis it normally does in presidential politics. The logic of the system, so its supporters argue with a certain cog



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Cloak-and-dagger in Jewish law

(Continued from page 6)

laws of the king or the statutes of the state have legal validity, on condition that they do not contradict the Halacha, as Maimonides recorded in Hilchot Melachim III, 5: "All who murder without clear proof or warning, or with only one witness to observe the crime, or an enemy who killed accidentally, the king has the right to execute the murderer and maintain order in the world according to the needs of the hour..."

The above concerns the personal behavior of the king. With regard to his responsibility concerning the security of Israel, however, the king in criminal cases has the authority to deviate from the normal Halachic procedure and may judge exclusively according to his own assessment. When the matter is crucial to the security of the state and to law and order, he has the authority to discipline the people, which is fundamental to the proper order of the state and its security, as formulated by Maimonides, Hilchot Melachim, III, 8: "Even if he ordered someone to journey to a certain place and he failed to go, or did not leave his home, he is subject to the death penalty."

The total authority granted to Joshua does not stem from his being a judge or a king; it stems from the authority vested in him by the people, without its being explicitly anchored in the Tora or Halacha. This is recorded in the Book of Joshua (1:16ff.): "They answered Joshua, 'We will do everything you have commanded us and we will go wherever you send us. We will obey you just as we obeyed Moses. Any man who flouts your commands and does not obey every order you give him shall be put to death.'"

There is apparently no hint in the Tora or Halacha of this absolute authority granted to Joshua to execute and punish all those who rebel. This subject was taken up by the great 19th-century rabbinical authority, the Hatam Sofer, in his responsa, Orach Chaim, no. 208, where he found a basis for Joshua's authority. According to the Halacha, a king may execute or punish without witnesses; the king may judge according to his own assessment of the affair. Nor does disobeying a king's command need to be tried by the Sanhedrin, as we learn from tractate Megilla 14a, deriving it from the story of David, Nabal, and Abigail.

The Tosafot in tractate Megilla disagree and are of the opinion that all the normal judicial procedures apply, including trial by the Sanhedrin. But the Tosafot in Kiddushin (48a) do not concur with the above opinion of the Tosafot in Megilla on the subject of trial by Sanhedrin for rebellion, nor is that opinion accepted by Maimonides. It is clear to them that the king is not subject to judicial procedure, and is not bound by the laws of testimony or evidence, nor by monarchical laws, but that he may punish according to his desire without witnesses or courts.

According to Maimonides, every leader in Israel, judge or king, who rules according to the will of the people, is entitled to this authority, for he has been granted by the people's authority to maintain law and order.

This authority to protect state discipline may be granted to another person not only by special appointment as a judge or a leader. The official who is entrusted with the security of the state or is commander-in-chief of the security services is, *ex officio*, entitled to this authority. That it pertains not only to kings, patriarchs and judges can be derived from Sanhedrin, 49a, where King Solomon tried Joab ben Zruia for the execution of Avner and Amasa:

"Then Joab was brought before the court and King Solomon judged and questioned him. 'Why did you kill Avner?' Joab answered: 'I was Asahel's avenger of blood!' 'Why did you kill Amasa?' He answered: 'Amasa disobeyed the royal order and rebelled against the throne.'"

Now David did not sentence Amasa to death for being tardy in his appearance before the king, nor did he send Joab to try him on this matter. Joab had been sent to deal with an entirely different matter - to capture Sheva ben Bichri. Nonetheless, Joab executed Amasa for being a rebel. Solomon did not accept this plea of Joab's, and defended Amasa's actions by recounting that Amasa had carried out David's orders and the Halacha.

If it were not for this argument of Solomon, Joab would have been acquitted for the murder of Amasa, as Amasa would have been considered a rebel. If monarchical punishment is the exclusive privilege of the king, or if a rebel must be tried by a Sanhedrin, then Joab illegally killed Amasa on two counts. First, Joab was not a king, nor had he been given permission to execute Amasa; on the contrary, David was angered by his actions. Secondly, Joab did not try Amasa before a Sanhedrin to determine whether his tardiness constituted a breach of loyalty that would warrant the death penalty.

According to Maimonides and his colleagues, subordinates who refuse to comply with the king's commands can expect punishment without trial and without the king's knowledge or consent. All this is included in the general authority granted to Joshua by the people.

This authority was passed on to leaders of Israel down the generations, not only to the top of the pyramid of Jewish government, but even to the officers responsible for the security of Israel, like Joab ben Zruia. One may exercise this authority to punish treason, as proven by the passages from the Talmud.

Hence, it is quite possible that the case is the same concerning the security officers of the State of Israel. The people in charge may derive their unique authority from the government and may employ it against those suspected of espionage, murder, or terror against the state and its citizens.

For want of other methods, extra-legal means may need to be employed to reveal these diabolical plans, secret deeds, and terror organizations. This authority can be granted to others with respect to security matters by the government only, as seen by the actions of Joab against Amasa. But this authority may be exercised only in time of emergency in the state, and for its vital security and the welfare of the people.

The writer is a former Chief Rabbi.

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'There is no reason why the system of exemptions on capital profits should continue'

Israel's tax system has never exactly been the source of much national pride. It has most of the qualities which economists have to see in tax systems. It is complicated and cumbersome, and there are very high rates, which apply to only a very narrow base of incomes, plenty of loopholes, and ample room for tax evasion.

All that could change in the coming months according to Hebrew University economics professor Eytan Sheshinski. He heads a committee planning income tax reform, appointed by Finance Minister Moshe Nissim last June. The committee's recommendations could involve a virtual fiscal revolution, which would change the very approach to economic life. Sheshinski says the committee's recommendations should become the basis for a major change in the tax system — one which would last for some 15 to 20 years.

Good reasons for an overhaul of the tax system have existed for many years. But the need for comprehensive tax reform became urgent last year, when the U.S. launched its much awaited tax reform. Then, it was clear the world would soon have to follow suit. In an open world economy, in which competition is keen, and talent and skills are constantly sought, no country, including Israel, can remain indifferent to the fact that the U.S. had lowered income tax rates.

And the dangers of a brain drain are even more marked in this country, which has so many links to the U.S.

Sheshinski sees his committee's main tasks, as being concentrated in three interrelated areas. The first is lowering the tax burden on medium and low-income groups. The second is generating the funds needed to finance a lower burden by scrapping the large number of tax exemptions, what economists call broadening the tax base. The third is to make the tax system so simple that everybody would be able to fill a tax return.

Then, filing would be universal and compulsory.

HE HOPES that the committee recommendations will create a system as close to the ideal as possible. But he recognizes the political limitations. Last January, when the Treasury came out with a plan for a significant reduction in income tax rates, accompanied by an across-the-board scrapping of tax exemptions, the political pressure was so great that the finance minister had to give in. Eventually the top income rate was lowered from 60 to 48 per cent, with some 17,000 of the highest paid income earners being the major beneficiaries.

This is paradoxical, since the major opponent of the Treasury's plan was the Histadrut. Sheshinski says such opposition was not justified. Two of the major sources of income now exempted from income tax, the yields on provident funds and on training funds (*kranot hishulmut*), benefit groups with relatively high incomes. Half of the funds in training funds and 37 per cent of the funds in provident funds are held by persons in the top decile.

Scrapping such exemptions would generate enough funds to lower the tax burden on those groups which should be the concern of the labour federation.

Moreover, Israel is practically the only industrialized country in which there are almost no taxes on capital profits. Such a situation can and should be changed. By establishing a simplified system of tax rules, that would apply to everyone and in which there would be compulsory filing, it would be possible to tax all sources of income, including capital gains on the stock exchange.

By taxing all sources of income, but at low rates, tax evasion would not be worthwhile.

At present, the system is so cumbersome that the income tax authorities hold only 350,000 files on individual tax payers, while there are one million families in the country. The result is neither just nor efficient.

Tax revolution is on the cards

Some bold ideas on fiscal reform are being bandied about by a committee appointed by the finance minister. Avi Temkin reports.



Prof. Eytan Sheshinski, head of the committee planning tax reform. (Aliza Auerbach)

In an efficient system, everyone would file his own tax returns, calculate the amount of tax he needed to pay and deduct the sums which he paid at source. Then, the taxpayer would calculate how much he needed to transfer to the tax authorities and how much would be refunded to him. By implementing such a system it would be also possible to make the family the central unit of taxation, taking into account family income instead of individual earnings.

Further, the system which Sheshinski envisages would apply the principle of averaging the incomes over a long period of time. By taking into account not only this year's income, but income during the past several years, it would be possible to prevent large fluctuations in tax payments.

BUT PASSING the legislation needed to implement the tax reform will be a formidable task. Judging from the U.S. experience, it will take months of deliberations at the legislative level. On top of that, some of

the changes will require lengthy deliberations with the unions and the labour federation, since some of the exemptions are part and parcel of existing labour contracts.

In addition, the reform may have some undesirable side effects. Workers will be getting a higher net salary, since the income tax brackets will be greatly stretched, and the threshold increased. Nevertheless, they may demand compensation in their gross wages as they would be taxed on meals at their workplaces, which are now exempted, and they would be paying tax on the yield from their provident or training funds.

Moreover, to protect net yields on provident and training funds, institutional investors would have to increase gross interest rates, as to attract savings. This would push up the long-term rate of interest. Finally, some of the exemptions would benefit some weak groups, like the handicapped or residents in developing areas.

Sheshinski is aware of these drawbacks, but believes the benefits of

the reform would outweigh them. It will be up to the politicians and Treasury officials to decide which exemptions should go and which should remain. He expects his committee to present proposals not only on which exemptions to scrap, but also on how to compensate low-income or handicapped groups.

In his opinion, compensation based on means tests would be better than an exemption, which could be used as a loophole by those not meant to benefit from it, he says. For example, there are fictitious residents of developing areas, and many members of low-income groups in developing areas earn so little that they cannot enjoy the exemptions. Allowances to handicapped persons could explicitly include the value of the tax exemption, and the entire allowance could then be taxed.

By using such mechanisms of compensation, almost all tax exemptions could be eliminated, while needy groups could be protected. The system would be simple and uniform, with all tax rates applying to everyone equally.

But Sheshinski does not conceal his opinion that the two exemptions that must be abolished are the ones on training and provident funds. The funds could be taxed at one of various stages. Taxes could be applied when payments are made, when employers contribute on behalf of employees, when profits are accumulated or when the money is withdrawn.

The tax should be applied only at one stage in order to avoid double taxation. Leaving all stages exempt, on the other hand, represents an economic distortion, as well as a social mistake.

WHEN THE principle of universal compulsory filing and scrapping of exemptions is accepted, implementation will have to be decided upon. Since this would involve a major change, Sheshinski says a gradual approach could be employed. In the beginning, only persons with incomes above a certain sum would have to file a return, and then, over a number of years, the scope of the regulation would be broadened to include more and more taxpayers.

But even if the principle of compulsory filing is not accepted, there is no reason why exemptions on capital profits should continue. In that case, the same flat rate should be applied to all these profits. This would permit ending the present situation in which profits on certain types of financial assets or saving schemes are taxed up to 35 per cent, while others are completely exempted. Even in this "second best" situation, all interest earnings would be taxed at a low rate.

Reforming the tax system is probably one of the most pressing tasks of economic policy. But it is also one of the areas in which vested interests are more visible and active. Sheshinski recognizes this, but expects the benefits to be so obvious that eventually his committee's recommendations will be implemented.

Code changes aid profits

BY KEN SCHACHTER

For The Jerusalem Post
TEL AVIV. — A nearly forgotten change in the tax code has fuelled a dramatic rise in the net results of many Israeli companies, according to a study conducted by MK Uriel Lynn.

In conducting his research, Lynn compared the 1986 balance sheets of five "well-run" companies from various sectors of the economy with their results from 1985, before the law took effect. Lynn found that on average the companies' net results doubled not counting any increase in the scope of the businesses. "It was only because of the tax law," he said. "This is the first time a tax change really and truly altered the tax liability in Israel."

The primary advantage, he said, is that companies are granted a financial cushion that frees them from the need to constantly dip into the capital market.

"The business world is starting to accumulate reserves to sustain growth without having to take loans or go to the stock exchange," Lynn said.

At the request of the Finance Ministry, Lynn, who was director of state revenue from 1979-1982, examined companies in real estate, insurance, metal, electronics and textiles. He declined to name the firms.

In comparing 1986 results with those of the previous year's, Lynn was able to isolate the effects of tax reductions that took effect at the beginning of this year.

The tax law studied by Lynn:

- Cancels an 8.3 per cent surtax that amounted to roughly 5 per cent of taxable income;

- Allows a company to declare deductions at 100 per cent of inflation rather than 90 per cent;

- Adjusts the tax liability of companies holding debentures for inflation. Previously, a company might have registered real losses on its debentures, but it still had to pay taxes because inflation wasn't taken into account.

The tax reforms marked the first time Israel "had across-the-board changes to the business sector," Lynn said. "The changes were made at the end of 1985, but we simply forgot about them."

IAI casting an eye on Puerto Rico

ISRAEL Aircraft Industries is seriously considering the establishment of a commercial aircraft factory and maintenance centre in Puerto Rico.

If the venture goes through, it would be IAI's first manufacturing plant outside Israel and the second aircraft assembly project to be located at Aguadilla's Borinquen Airport in three months. For Puerto Rico, which is plagued by a 20 per cent unemployment rate, the deal would mean a minimum of 200 jobs and a multimillion-dollar investment.

Amiram Ezroni, president of IAI International Inc., the company's U.S. subsidiary, said in an interview that he considers Puerto Rico an ideal site to assemble the Arava — a 19-seater, twin-turbine passenger plane made in Israel since the early 1970s.

"We think there is a market for

the Arava in the United States, and we are looking for some place to manufacture these planes. We think that Puerto Rico might be a good place," said Ezroni, who visited the Caribbean island last month.

Antonio J. Colorado, chief of Puerto Rico's Economic Development Administration (Fomento), said that while no final decisions have been made, his agency is excited about the venture.

"Israel is very advanced in the manufacture of small planes, and I think it's something that would be very good for Puerto Rico. I know the quality and the excellence of this corporation," said Colorado. "Personally, I believe that if they're going to do any work within the U.S., Puerto Rico is the best place to do it."

Commonwealth governor Rafael Hernandez Colon has already met with Ezroni and is said to be excited

about the project — as is Abel Holtz, chairman of Miami-based Capital Banks, which is likely to help finance the deal.

INTERESTINGLY, Ezroni's visit to Puerto Rico coincides with the recent failure of two Israeli-run agricultural projects, April Agro Industries and the Israel-Puerto Rico Agricultural Corp., which together defaulted on some \$56 million in Commonwealth loans. Last month, a third project — Fruits International, a mango operation run by Ehud Peikes, declared bankruptcy and Peikes accused the Commonwealth of anti-Semitism, a charge the governor has publicly denied.

If IAI selects Puerto Rico as its U.S. manufacturing site, said Ezroni, the company would assemble up to 20 Arava planes there per year, at a cost of \$2 million apiece. "And it wouldn't only be to manufacture the

Larry Luxner on plans to assemble the Arava aircraft close to the U.S. market

Arava," he added. "We can also open a maintenance operation as a combined venture between our company and the government of Puerto Rico. We can, for instance, maintain U.S. military airplanes as a venture with our subsidiary in Miami, Commodore Aviation."

Pending IAI approval, this project would be the second manufacturing project of its kind at Borinquen Airport in Aguadilla, in the western region of Puerto Rico.

In June, Air Transport Systems Inc. (now Broom Aircraft Co.) of Las Vegas, Nev., announced it had chosen Aguadilla as a site to manufacture the BR-2000 turboprop cargo plane. The venture, since confirmed by company officials, is projected to employ up to 1,000 people and generate \$80 million in sales by 1992.

THE RATIONALE behind IAI's Puerto Rico leanings is clear: the perception of growing protectionist sentiment in Washington has encouraged some foreign aircraft manufacturers to set up domestic maintenance and repair facilities for their U.S.-registered aircraft.

Likewise, because of certain regulations now pending before the federal government, IAI will have to set up operations on U.S. soil if it

hopes to export Arava planes to, and maintain them in, the United States. On that basis, Puerto Rico, with its tax incentives, relatively low wages and geographic proximity to both U.S. and Latin American markets, emerges as an obvious choice.

"We do business in 42 countries around the world," Ezroni explained. "If we want to fly these planes in the States, the best thing to do is manufacture over here. The advantage (of Puerto Rico) to IAI is the fact that the man-hour rate is lower here than in other places."

In addition, IAI currently maintains the fleets of seven South American airlines including Ecuadoriana, LAN Chile, Avianca and LAP Paraguayan Airlines through its Miami-based U.S. maintenance subsidiary, Commodore Aviation Inc.

The Arava, manufactured in Israel since the early 1970s, features a maximum cruising speed of 196 mph, a maximum takeoff and landing weight of 15,000 pounds and an empty weight (passenger configuration) of 8,700 pounds. It is powered by two Pratt & Whitney turboprop engines and seats 19 passengers.

Last month, a fleet of three such planes arrived at San Juan's international airport. All will be utilized by Crown Air, a regional commuter airline.

Interestingly, one of the partners in the proposed Israeli project is Richard Millman — the same entrepreneur who established a U.S.-Chinese-Japanese agreement to operate a cashmere sweater factory in Rio Grande, Puerto Rico, last year.

That project, jointly financed by the Government Development Bank for Puerto Rico, Capital Banks Inc. of Miami, and the Beijing International Trust and Investment Corp. — one of China's largest lending institutions — is expected within three years to produce 26 per cent of the world's cashmere sweaters for export to the U.S., Western Europe and Japan.

But Millman, president of the Washington-based TransWorld Group Ltd., predicted that the Israeli venture, if approved, would be a massive undertaking requiring an investment "many times larger" than the \$12 million invested in the cashmere project.

The concept of Israel gaining access to the U.S. market by manufacturing planes in Puerto Rico is not a new one. Colorado, the commonwealth's economic development administrator, first discussed the idea with the then-Israeli ambassador to the United States, Meir Rosenne nearly two years ago.

"It's a very labour-intensive, sophisticated type of work in the sense that it requires training," said Colorado. "I'm sure Puerto Ricans could do a very good job."

Local firms fear dumping after deal with Portugal

Jeff Black

WHILE THE COUNTRY'S flower-growers have every reason to be satisfied by Israel's recent trade agreement with Portugal, both textile manufacturers and workers are up in arms against the deal negotiated by the Ministry of Industry and Trade.

The agreement was called for after Portugal's entry last year into the European Economic Community. Industry ministry officials explain that for Israel to enjoy tariff reductions on its food and agricultural (including flower) exports to the EC, Israel needs a free-trade agreement with Portugal.

The ideal of free trade may appeal to economic theorists, but as far as our textile manufacturers and workers are concerned, the unrestricted entry of Portuguese textiles will lead to one thing: dumping.

Haim Kaminitz, the chairman of the Manufacturers Association textile division, points out that Portugal is notorious for its cheap textile products. This, he says, is because wages in Portugal are very low and the government subsidizes them in an attempt to ease the country's unemployment problem.

Before the ministry's team started the negotiations with their Portuguese counterparts, Kaminitz held his own negotiations with its members in order to protect his industry.

"We explained what our sensitive points were," he says, "and agreed on a common position for the negotiations." These included the manufacturers' demand for quotas on two Portuguese products, bed linen and knitted clothing.

But during the negotiations, Kaminitz complains, the ministerial team, headed by the deputy-director for foreign trade, Zohar Perry, dropped this demand without consulting the manufacturers.

"When the Industry and Trade Ministry knew they were going to sign the agreement without our demands, they should have consulted us to see if there were any other options open," Kaminitz maintains. He aims to meet with ministry officials in the near future to see whether the agreement can be changed, although Perry said this week this was out of the question.

THE MINISTRY position is quite simple: we got the best possible deal we could. Yohanan Levy, the director of the ministry's textile and leather division, says "We did our utmost in trying to get protection for Israeli textiles."

The important thing to remember, Levy points out, is that Portugal has given us immediate tax exemptions on the majority of our exports while in return, we have agreed to a gradual reduction of taxes on Portuguese exports.

Under the agreement, which is due to go into effect at the end of this year, Portugal will grant immediate tax exemption on most Israeli products, while "sensitive" imports from Portugal such as textiles, leather clothing and food products will

enjoy a gradual reduction in import duty until January 1993, when all taxes will be removed.

But Levy admits that when that happens, some parts of Israel's textile industry is going to be harmed. Unfortunately, he says, "there was no alternative to the agreement we signed."

According to Levy, the textile industry follows a cyclical pattern: 1981-85 was a very bad period for it, with exports only reaching around \$330 million each year. Last year, this downsizing ended, and exports rose by 25 per cent. This trend, he says, should continue for the next couple of years until the cycle begins again.

THIS FUTURE depression is upmost in Amira Andrianov's mind. The secretary-general of the textile, clothing and leather-workers' union represents some 65,000 textile workers. She says 50 per cent of the population of Bet She'an and Kiryat Shmona, as well as 75 per cent of Kiryat Gat, work in the textile industry. What will happen to these people if Portugal begins dumping its products here? she asks.

Andrianov, like Kaminitz, wants a meeting with Industry and Trade Ministry officials to see if any changes can be made to the agreement. She also has another bone to pick with the ministry: she had heard nothing about the agreement until she read about it in the newspaper. The workers, she maintains, have the right to know and to be consulted about trade deals which could determine their future.

Perils of a presidency

(Continued from page 9)

The centre of gravity rests on the side of the government and not with the prospective coalition partners.

Rather than selling their indispensable services at cut-throat prices to a needy government, prospective coalition partners would be drawn to the government in which it wanted to sit and from which it had a great deal to gain.

Coalition partners would be far less likely to attempt to force the government's hands. Were this to occur, nevertheless, alternative partners at reasonable prices would, doubtless, be readily available.

The achievement of the proposal as a singular synthesis between presidential and parliamentary systems does not, of itself, recommend it for use in Israel. Indeed, some might see in its unprecedented and untried features a substantial drawback.

But this only returns us to our initial query: Can the present parliamentary system be pragmatically reformed or must we look beyond it for solutions? If the current system is judged to be beyond repair, then radical proposals such as that of the draft constitution are a most welcome development and deserve the widest attention. If not, efforts at reform need to be redirected. In any case, raising the subject of political reform onto the Israeli public agenda is the order of the day.

The writer is a senior lecturer in political science at Bar-Ilan and Tel Aviv Universities.



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Back to tolerance

JERUSALEM is a city holy to all three great religions, but it is also Israel's capital. It is at once profoundly traditional and religious, and thoroughly modern and secular. It has the largest Arab minority of any city in the country. It is a fragile amalgam of diversity, a potentially explosive mosaic. The one generalization that can safely be applied to Jerusalem is that, if a *modus vivendi* among its very unlike-minded groups is not devised, and regularly amended so as to keep up with the times, it will erupt.

In the present confrontation between ultra-Orthodox and non-observant Jews, the common feeling is that the other "camp" is making joint living in the city well-nigh impossible. But the feeling stems from radically different assumptions about what it means to live together in Jerusalem.

To the denizens of Mea She'arim and similar neighbourhoods Jerusalem in its entirety is entirely theirs as of right, and does not — as a city — belong to the heretical Zionists any more than it does to the Arabs. In a pinch, however, the ultra-Orthodox would, or so they often claim, be ready to lock arms with the Arabs in order to sweep the city clean of the spreading blight of profanation that now disfigures it, especially on Shabbat.

The depth of outrage felt by the zealots in the face of movie-showing on Shabbat may be gauged from the characterization of their opponents, in an article published by the weekly Jerusalem journal of the Belzer Hassidim last week, as "a small minority of anti-Semitic goyim, even if they happen to be of the seed of Yisrael."

Secular Jews must find it difficult to be amused by such bigotry. That they are not is confirmed by the reports that many young secular families have moved elsewhere. Perhaps some of the ultra-Orthodox are interested in promoting such an exodus. But the more moderate groups are certainly not and together with the secular community are intent on maintaining the capital as a city where the Orthodox of all shades and the secularists can live and feel free as Jews.

Unfortunately, however, there is no symmetry between the positions of the ultras and the moderate Orthodox-secularists. The non-observant speak of individual rights, tolerance and pluralism, the ultra-Orthodox of divine commandments that bind all Jews, presumably including the "anti-Semitic goyim" among them.

By their tactics, however, the militants in both camps achieve roughly the same result: they play into each other's hands. Combative secularists help unite the Orthodox under the leadership of whichever "halachic authority" outbids all others in the fierceness of his resistance to any change in the hallowed *status quo*. While the bellicose defenders of religion, by condoning the violence they piously deny, invite a reaction in kind.

The *status quo* on the municipal level in Jerusalem — no relation to the 1947 agreement — has in fact been quite recognizably eroded during the past few years. The ultra-Orthodox have established a right of sorts to set fire to bus-stop shelters displaying what they consider offensive advertisements. The secular have at the same time a right, also of sorts, to have movies shown on Friday nights in the context of cultural programmes, thus getting round the municipal ban on commercial film showing on Shabbat.

Neither "right" has so far come to a court test: the rabbis are evidently not too certain that the High Court of Justice will please them by its rulings. The issue is, in any case, too vital to be left to judges who can only decide what the law is, not what it should be.

For the sake of Jerusalem's internal peace, Mayor Teddy Kollek, as so often in the past, must roll back the extremes.

KATYUSHAS

(Continued from page one)

settlers in a meeting with OC Northern Command Aluf Yossi Peled, who visited the area of the attack yesterday.

Yossi Goldberg, chairman of the committee of "confrontation-line" settlements in the North and head of the Metulla local council, charged the government with failing to honour its promises to give the settlements special aid.

"The government should be doing everything to assist the residents to lead lives as near to normal as possible in the abnormal circumstances caused by the threat of the rocket attacks against civilian targets," he said.

Goldberg called for an urgent meeting with the prime minister to discuss the special problems of confrontation-line settlements. These included the need to boost educational and health facilities, establish new industries and bail out debt-ridden farmers.

"Education is one of our prime concerns. We need to strengthen the morale of the children by providing more counselling and additional activities during and after school," he said.

"Similarly we need to improve health services in the area to ensure proper coverage. The government hospital at Safad, for instance, does not have the facilities to cope with a major emergency if, God forbid, there should be a need," added Goldberg.

By last night, no terrorist organization had claimed responsibility for yesterday's Katyusha attack. The previous incident in the region occurred on August 15.

Prior to that Katyusha rockets fell in another part of Galilee on August 9 and 10, causing slight damage but, as in the other cases, no injuries.

Yesterday afternoon, seven mortar rounds fell inside the security zone in South Lebanon, without causing casualties or damage.

SHABBAT

(Continued from page one)

city, called off plans for a protest against "religious coercion" today on the border of the Mea She'arim and Musrara neighbourhoods.

Community activist Yamin Suissa told Israel Television that the protest was called off because police had not confiscated the "instruments of violence" that were reportedly being collected at a yeshiva near the site for the demonstration.

The decision to call off the demonstration followed a High Court decision rejecting the community activists' appeal to demonstrate closer to Mea She'arim than permitted by police. During the hearing on Wednesday, the state attorney representative, appearing for the police, revealed that the police had information that "instruments of violence" were being collected and would be used if a protest were held closer to the neighbourhood.

Herzog met last night with spiritual and political leaders of Agudat Yisrael and then with Kollek. "Both sides should show restraint and try to reach an understanding out of concern for the special character of Jerusalem," Herzog told the Agudat Yisrael leaders, who had requested the meeting with him.

Earlier yesterday, the owner of the Orion cinema complex, Sali Mizrahi, withdrew his plan to show films in all five of his cinemas to-night. Mizrahi said he had changed his mind after receiving a request from Kollek not to show the films.

Films will nonetheless be screened at Beit Agnon, Tzavta, the Cinematheque, Beit Yitzchak in the German Colony, and the students' club of the Hebrew University on Mt. Scopus. The Reform Movement's hostel at Hebrew Union College will be featuring an evening of song.

Pride and the arms trade

Pinhas Landau

THE WORLD is waiting for the two superpowers to sign an agreement which will eliminate a large chunk of their nuclear arsenals. Not that they won't have plenty left to blow each other, and everyone else, to kingdom come. But they will, for the first time ever, have a lot fewer megatons to throw around.

The explanation for this sudden attack of disarmament is as plain as it is simple. The Russians, under the prodding of Gorbachev and his mates, have admitted that they can't afford the arms race. Specifically, their mouldering socialist economy cannot shoulder the burden of competing with the U.S. in a new generation of space weapons, "star wars" for short, which are even more fantastically expensive than they are complicated.

What's in it for the Americans, then? Here, too, the answer is money. They can better afford the arms race than the Russians, because their economy is much more efficient and can therefore produce plenty of butter, as well as guns. But a better relative performance doesn't mean they can afford it absolutely.

The citizens of New York and Washington are not accustomed to queuing for hours in the snow to obtain basic items, and would make their opinions felt via the ballot box if they had to sharply cut their standard of living to finance new missile and anti-missile programmes. But more of the American economy anon — let's move nearer to home.

"In real terms, purchases by Middle Eastern nations fell to their lowest level in a decade in 1985, and were scarcely half their 1984 level." This is how the London magazine *MidEast Markets* began its recent summary of the latest report from Acda, the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. It makes fascinating reading.

TWENTY NATIONS in the Middle East and North Africa, from Morocco to Iran, bought \$11.4b. worth of arms in 1985. That may sound like a lot, but the same group spent \$20.7b. in 1984, and a record \$21.1b. in 1982. In 1985, by the way, the price of oil was still at \$28 a barrel.

True, these nations represented almost 40 per cent of the world arms market in 1985 — but in previous years they managed half the world total without difficulty.

The biggest supplier by far to the region in the first half of the decade was the USSR. In toto it sold \$26.2b. in arms exports, compared to the U.S.'s \$16b., with France clocking up almost \$15b. and, far behind, China and Britain with about \$4.6b. each.

Other items that might cause surprise include the fact that Iraq spent nearly four times as much on arms between 1981 and 1985 as did Iran — \$24b. to \$6.4b. China sold far more to Baghdad than to Teheran, despite all the noise about its Iranian connection. U.S. sales to Iran are given as zero, apparently reflecting the

report's unawareness of the Iran/Iraq deals, while Israeli sales to Iran don't figure either. But then the report can't account for where five sixths of Iranian purchases came from, implying, according to *MidEast Markets*, that Khomeini was forced to turn to "minor country suppliers."

By 1984, Iraq's military spending represented 42.5 per cent of its GNP — number one in the world — compared with Iran's relatively restrained 7.2 per cent. The following year, however, both countries cut back massively: Iraq spent \$2.1b. in 1985, compared to \$7.7b. in 1984, while Iran spent \$800m., down from \$2.2b. Again, it should be stressed, all that was before the slump in oil revenues that hit home in 1986.

Regarding Israel, the magazine notes that "Israeli arms imports have been growing in recent years," which indeed they did in 1984 and 1985, after falling in the two previous years. However, we are of little concern to its readers, because "Israel manufactures most of its own weaponry, and since Acda's figures indicate that the U.S. now has a monopoly on Israeli external arms supplies, there are few international commercial implications."

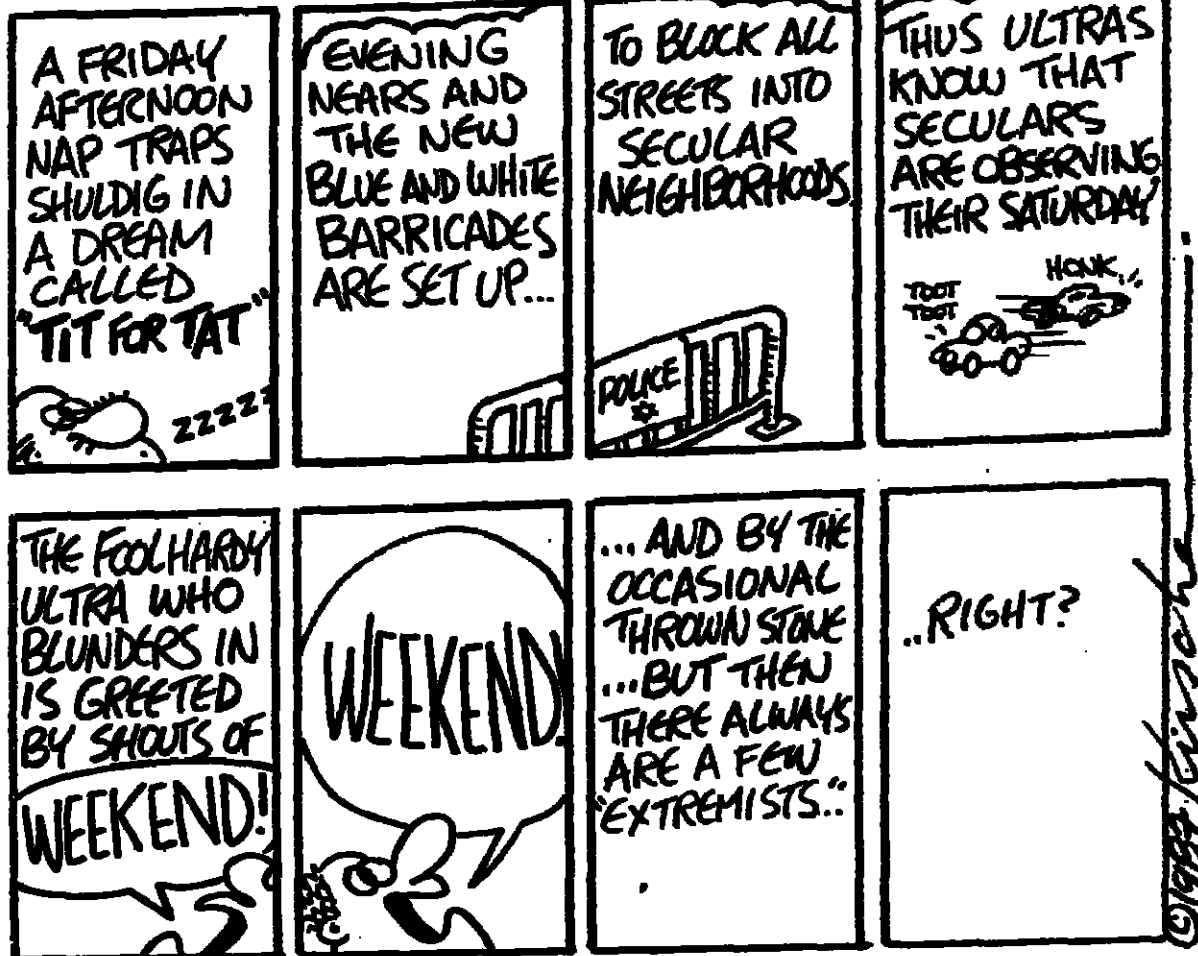
Our neighbours, including Syria and certainly Jordan and Egypt, are all found to have cut back dramatically over the last few years. "It (Syria) had to cut back. By 1984, military spending accounted for no less than 22.4 per cent of GNP and for a record 41.7 per cent of all central government expenditure." Acda figures show Syrian defence imports declining steadily from \$3.27b. in 1980, through \$2b. in 1983, to \$865m. in 1985.

ALL THIS is not to suggest that we can disband the IDF and let each man retire to his own fig-tree and vineyard. What it shows is that, over the last few years, the arms race has become impossibly expensive, for great, medium and small powers alike.

As a final illustration of the cost of even a successful military machine, consider the case of Vietnam. Between 1950 and 1975 the North Vietnamese Communists defeated first France and then the U.S. When the Hanoi empire was extended to Saigon and Phnom Penh, it looked like tough, uncompromising sacrifice and austerity really did pay. But in the decade since those victories, Vietnam has gone completely bankrupt. The economy has virtually collapsed and the people are destitute. Early this year, most of the old codgers who ran the country first to victory and then into the ground were unceremoniously kicked out at the party conference, and replaced by younger men committed to heresies like producing consumer goods and raising the standard of living.

Now, having wandered over the globe, let's get to the point. A lot of strange things have happened to the world economy in the last 5-10 years. Although no one can explain them properly, their effects are clear

The Friday Dry Bones



enough — there is little growth and great dislocation. The more rigidly controlled and inflexible a country's economic system, the worse off it has become, and in every case that governments have sought to promote or prop up grandiose projects, the results have been disastrous.

Diverting resources to armaments production was a temporary saviour for some countries for a few years. However, when money became scarce after the inflation of the 1970s was killed off, the effect of heavy spending on weapons became more lethal to the buyer than to his intended victim. For example, and fortunately for us, Syria beat us in the race to self-destruct our economies, and had to cut back sooner, and harder, than we did.

The main reason we got through the last few years with as little trouble as we did (yes, all those crises and cuts were just minor troubles by comparative standards; we're just pampered) was that the Reagan administration was engaged in rearming America. In the wake of the shah's fall, it adopted the "Israel is a strategic asset" theory and set about improving first the quantity and then the terms of the aid it gave us.

The expansionist American defence policy has been paid for by three factors: cuts in other areas of spending — the tough face of Reaganomics; economic growth spurred by tax cuts — the smiling face of Reaganomics; and borrowing abroad.

The last factor is the one that has allowed Americans to keep spending and hence to keep the economy, as a whole moving forward in one of its longest-ever periods of expansion, now nearing five straight years. The price has been high real interest rates and latterly a devaluing dollar, but these will be borne mainly by the next generation.

But the refusal of the Congress and the administration, separately

and together, to tackle the chronic budget deficit that underlies the trade deficit and causes the high real interest rates, has meant that the U.S. economy has become increasingly vulnerable. Israelis know better than anyone that the bigger a government's budget deficit the less freedom of maneuver it has when the crunch comes and, conversely, when it has a balance or a surplus, it has the luxury of deciding how best to deploy it.

SOONER OR LATER the boom will fade, that much is reluctantly admitted by everyone. Whether the internal debt stemming from consumer overspending and from bank lending to the agriculture and energy sectors sparks a recession, or whether the foreign debt crisis comes to the boil, or whether the creditor nations, especially Japan, get cold feet about the U.S. economy, in any event the worm will turn. Then the administration, probably the next one, will do the things that have to be done.

When that happens, it will be quite futile to complain that "they" have turned anti-Israel, or that we are really worth much more in military-strategic terms. In fact, the writing is already on the paper that the State Department used for its statement on the Lavi, dated August 11, 1987.

It starts off by saying that "we have serious concerns regarding the costs of the Lavi project and its potential impact on Israel's defence planning and its economy." Then it notes that the magnitude of the costs will inevitably "crowd out" other projects. Then comes the killer.

"Given the budgetary realities we and Israel face, we believe a decision by Israel to terminate the Lavi would be in the best interest of both our countries."

Not "given the budgetary reality Israel faces," we suggest you drop the damn thing. Everybody knows Israel can't afford it, and never could, and that the U.S. has been paying for it all along. No. "Given the budgetary realities we face" — there's the rub. We, the Americans, can't afford it.

Our current generation of leaders have learned to declaim pompously about "national pride" and "the technological future of the country," because they have become secure in the knowledge that the Americans will foot the bill. When the chips were down, we could always squeeze the money out of them. That approach is now in danger of obsolescence, and so are the people who stick to it.

In a world where few can afford to buy armaments but many are trying to sell them, a firm like Solam, offering the same products decade after decade, is doomed to die. Elbit, making state-of-the-art avionics systems, can survive by cooperating with viable aircraft producers, such as Boeing, Israel Aircraft Industries, handicapped by feather-bedding, phoney accounting, and a supposedly captive market that just broke free and spat in its face, is incapable of beating General Dynamics and McDonnell Douglas. Its only hope is to join them, if it has something valuable to offer.

Worse yet, in a world where the dollar is at the mercy of off-the-cuff statements by senior Japanese civil servants, and in which a group of Japanese pension fund managers can destabilize the entire American financial system, Israeli reliance on American support and assistance is as dangerous as it is undesirable.

But it seems that the Israeli establishment is so badly hooked on the aid-drug that it can't make out the early warning signals already emanating from Washington. Our leaders are still hallucinating under the influence of the extra dose that Rabin got for them on his last visit. Now the talk is that Peres will go to the Great Pushover Across The Water and get more.

The Americans should do us all a favour and give a firm no. The present level is high enough, and when their budget crunch comes there's no knowing what they might do to us. The statement then may be expected to open "Given the budgetary realities we face..."

The writer is finance reporter of The Jerusalem Post.

READERS' LETTERS

EMILIE SCHINDLER

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — Emilie and Oscar Schindler, Righteous Gentiles if ever there were any, saved together 1,200 Jews during the Holocaust. Oscar was the subject of great honours in Germany and Israel and died in 1974.

Oscar abandoned Emilie in 1957 in Argentina, where she was living in great misery. When the brethren of the B'nai B'rith Tradition lodge heard about it, they decided it was the duty of Central European Jews to help her. The lodge built her a house where she lives rent-free. With the help of other organizations, Emilie Schindler is assured of a monthly pension. Moreover, two years ago, with the help of the German Embassy in Buenos Aires, I managed to obtain a pension for her from Germany.

Emilie Schindler will be 80 on October 22. Of the 1,200 Jews saved from death by the Schindlers, only one couple living near New York is in contact with Emilie. Her 80th birthday would be a suitable occasion for the surviving Jews saved by the Schindlers to show her their appreciation by writing to her c/o B'nai B'rith Tradition, Juncal 2573, 1425 Buenos Aires, Argentina.

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HELPING THE AGED

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — I refer to Leah Abramowitz's article of July 1, "Getting the aged on their feet," and take exception to Leo's claim that "people just aren't interested in working with the elderly."

A few years ago, my brother-in-law was finishing up his master's in gerontology and had a number of years of experience working with the elderly. He was ready to relocate his family from Jerusalem to Afula, but after working two weeks in Afula, he

was told that the government did not recognize his degree and if he wanted to work in geriatrics, he would have to retrain as a social worker. Just what Israel needs — another social worker! Out of disgust and desperation to support his growing family, he retrained in carpentry.

The problem is not attracting good employees, but losing them to bureaucratic stupidity.
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